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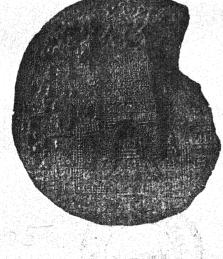
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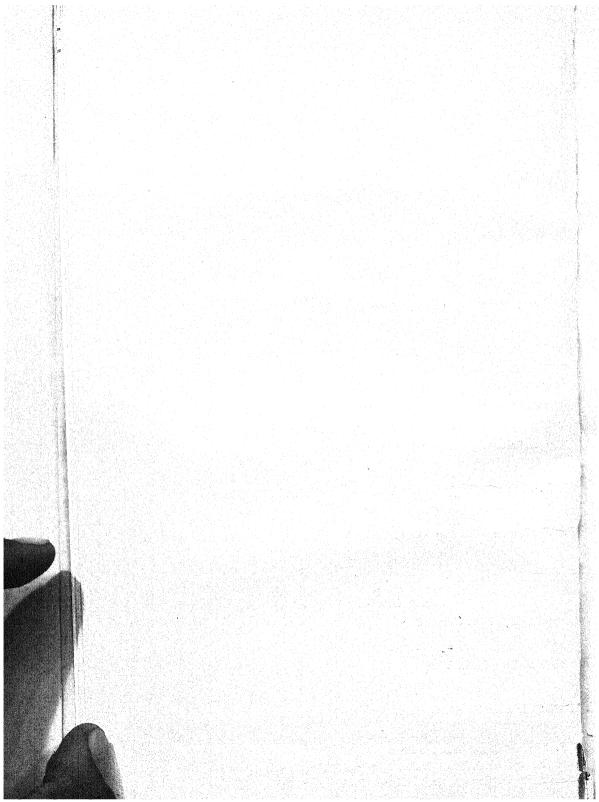
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IPART III.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—The Maha-Puranas

By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society was started by its first governor, Sir Edward Gait, and he asked me to assist him in its organisation; and I used to come all the way from Calcutta for the purpose, twice or thrice in the year. I assisted him in starting the operation of search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Orissa and Mithila. Since Sir Edward's retirement I thought that the Research Society had forgotten me; but the other day I was acreeably surprised to find that the Society published a magnificent volume on the Smrti manuscripts in Mithila, and that the volume was dedicated to me by the distinguished author. I was very happy to think that I was not altogether forgotten. Shortly after that came an invitation from the Secretary to address the annual general meeting, and with a delicate courtesy, the choice of subject was left to me; and I chose the subject of Maha-puranas to which my attention has been directed for some years.

1

1 Res. J.

The Purana literature is very extensive. The 18 Mahapuranas are said to contain? 400,000 The extent of the verses. Over and above these, there are Litera-Purana 18 Upa-purāņas, and 18 more Purāņas ture. unsuccessfully claiming position among the 36 Mahā and Upa-purānas. Besides these 54, there is a miscellaneous lot of Puranas bringing up the number nearly to a hundred. It, on an average 20,000 verses are given to each of these 100 works. the number of slokas or verses would be 2,000,000. On an average 4,000 verses per volume, they would fill 500 volumes. a respectable library in itself. To speak of this enormous literature. with any authority, requires at least a life's study : but nobody has as yet given his life to it.

Yet, there are many stout hearts who have made hold endeavours to master this literature. The history of the Their success was partial, and will be so study of Puranas. H. H. Wilson. for many generations more. Horace Hayman Wilson was the first oriental scholar to take up the study of the Puranas. He trained four Bengali youths to the work of reading manuscripts of the Puranas and of rendering them to English. These four men afterwards became great men in different spheres of life, and the training received from Wilson stood them in good stead. With their assistance. Wilson translated many of the Puranas, made indices on them and bound them in foolscap volumes. These now adorn the shelves of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, and speak eloquently of the interest, Wilson took for the Puranic literature of the Hindus. Among these he published the translation of one Purana only, viz. the Visnu-purana with copious notes and a learned preface dealing with the 18 Mahā-purānas. But, his materials were meagre, and that, in badly written manuscripts. For a learned Brahmin, unless he was a Paurāņika himself, never copied the manuscripts with his own hands, but had it done by Kayasthas whose knowledge of Sanskrit was not of the first water.

The first Purāṇa, edited under the auspices of the Asiatic K. M. Banerjea. Society, Bengal, was the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, and he had to contend with difficulties in regard to manuscripts.

When the late Mr. Pargiter joined the Civil Service in the early eighties, he determined to do something for the Puranas and the only respectable edition of one, he found was

the Markandeya by Rev. K. M. Banerjea; and in order to emulate the fame of Wilson he began to translate it and finished the translation only a few years before his retirement. He. however, kept up the study of the Puranas all through his life in India and all through his life at Oxford. At Oxford it struck him that instead of editing and translating the Puranas, it would be more useful to translate, and specially, to edit passages or chapters from the Purapas on a particular subject, and he chose the Purana texts on the dynastics of the Kali Age. The same subject was simultaneously studied by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal while at Calcutta. These studies had marvellous In the eighties my European friends advised me effect. not to touch the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purānas for the purpose of getting Indian history from them. They worked hard with coins, inscriptions, notices of foreign travellers, archeology, sculpture, architecture for extracting chronology and history from them. In fact they studied everything but the Puranas. But lo! Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Jayaswal now produce a chronology from the Purānas themselves which agreed in the outline prepared with so much toils of nearly 150 years by the Orientalists.

The last work of Mr. Pargiter is on the reliability of Indian traditions, i.e., on the Purāṇas generally. He says that there is nothing in the Purāṇas to show that the Kṣatriyas came from the west. His idea is that they all came from the mid-Himālayas. But this is not the place for going into detail of what Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Jayaswal say. All that the present

address is concerned with is that they rescued the Purāṇas from the disrepute in which they were placed and heightened the respect for them.

As a consequence, the study of the Puranas has commenced in Europe, and the idea of editing Willibald Kirfel. passages on particular subjects has taken root. In 1927, Willibald Kirfel has come out with a stout volume, "Das Purana Pancalaksana." He has collected together from various Puranas all the passages on the five characteristics of the Purana, viz. creation, details of creation, ages of Manu, dynasties, and biographies of kings. This is a great service, for in it we can at a glance see what the original idea of creation, et cetera. were and how they developed in different ages. It has also served another great purpose. People were all along under the impression that the Puranas were concerned with these five subjects with others intruding upon and interpolated into these subjects. Kirfel shows what an insignificant part these five play in the Puranas. They form about 10,000 verses, out of total of 400,000, thus being the one-fortieth part of it. So there are other characteristics of the Puranas, which form the bulk of them.

It would be a serious omission, in this connexion, not to mention the name of Rai Sahib Nagen-Rai Sahib Nagendra-nātha Vasu who has taken great dranath Vasu. interest in the Puranas. His article on the Purāna in his well-known Bengali Encyclopedia Viśva-koṣa occupies pages 526-719 in vol. XI. He has treated of each Purāņa, each Upa-purāņa and each other Purāņa as far as was possible for him 30 years ago. The contents of each Purana have been noted and he has some remarks to make for each of them. On page 560, he has given the names of 18 Mahā-Puranas in a tabular form, the order in which these names have been mentioned in each of the Puranas, and their extent in ślokas, wherever found. This tabular statement could be useful to anyone studying the Puranas. The description of individual

Purāṇas is preceded by a dissertation on Purāṇa literature in general. The Rai Sahib thinks that the principal Purāṇas were compiled a short time after the Vedic age; but the literature continued to grow up to a very late time. The Purāṇas have undergone various changes in the hands of various seets. The Rai Sahib has included an examination of the Jaina Purāṇas which are only imitations of the Hindu Purāṇas. Some of the Jaina imitations are dated, from which he has attempted to prove the antiquity of the Hindu originals.

Up to very recent times, the Purana scholars had to contend

Publication of the

with one great difficulty. They had to study their subjects mostly through manuscripts; and manuscripts are difficult to procure even for collation. But the way

shown by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea and by the piety of the Hindu public who used to print the Puranas and distribute them to pious Brahmins, led to excellent results. Mandalik from Bombay published the Padma-purana in four volumes. The Anandasrama published the Matsya, Brahma and other Puranas. popularity of these works led the Venkateswar Press, Bombay and the Vangavasī Press, Calcutta, to publish the entire bulk of the 18 Mahā-purāṇas. People often complain that these editions are worthless. They are more full of errors than even the worst manuscripts. But I think they are useful. In the eighties of the last century, my late lamentel friend Dr. Hoernle used to say of these editions that they serve a good purpose by multiplying bad manuscripts. The very multiplication is useful. One can with a few rupees procure any Puranic work and work upon it, instead of waiting till a manuscript is searched for and procured, say, in the course of a year or two. The public, indeed, should be thankful to these two printers for circulating printed editions of all the Puranas, the Vangavāsī for Rs. 67 and the Venkateswar for Rs. 200 only. They serve another purpose. They represent the different provincial recensions and that means collations of different classes of manuscripts. They have made researches

on the Puranas practicable. By a cursory view of the two sets, one can at once come to know that the Muhammadan custom offering "Sirni" to Satyapīr adopted by the Hindur of Bengal as the worship of Satya-Nārāyaṇa, is to be found in the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅgavāsī edition, but not in the Veṅkaṭeśwar edition, that some khaṇḍas of the Purāṇas are popular in one province and unknown in another and so forth.

With these preliminaries, I now enter into the proper subject Maha- of my address. The late lamented The Mr. Jackson, I.C.S., Bombay, used to say puranas. that the Puranas were originally one. His arguments were that the word Purana is used in singular in some of the Kalpa-sūtras, that the dynastic lists in the Puranas are couched in the same language in every one of them (that shows that they were taken from the same source), that like the Saxon chronicles which changed its character in different monasteries, the Purana changed its character in different places, different families and in the midst of different sects of different religions. Many of the Puranas also declare that "Puranam ekam eva āsīt." The Visnu-purana says that the Purana was one. It was taught by Vvasa to Loma-harsana who imparted it to six of his students, three of whom wrote three Samhitas. So here we get an account of four Puranas. The Vayu-purana is lost to all intents and purposes. But the first portion of the second Khanda of the genuine Vayu is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. From that it is apparent that the Puranas at one time were ten, but at the time of writing that book it had grown to 18. In the Garuda-purana we hear that Garuda obtained a boon that he should be known as a "Purāna-samhitā-kartā," and so the Garuḍa-purāṇa is independent of other Puranas. Vasistha's grandson Parasara obtained a boon from Pulastya,—the progenitor of the Rāksasas whom Parasara determined to extirpate but subsequently desisted owing to Pulastya's interession,—that he should be celebrated as a "Purāņa-samhitā-kartā.' These show the futility of the theory that all the 18 Puranas proceeded from Vyasa who, after



writing the Mahā-bhārata, compiled the 18 Purānas to complete the Encyclopædia of Hindu life. That theory should be given up; but the presence of Vyāsa, or his disciple Sūta, in at least 16 Purāṇas, should be accounted for.

This is accounted for by the fact that many of the Puranas have undergone several revisions. Revisions. the Padma-purana itself, as published by the Anandasrama Press, we know that it was at least six times revised. The Brahma, the Bhagavata and the Brahmavaivarta were at least thrice revised. The number of revisions of the other Puranas cannot be determined. But the Visnu and the Vāmana were never revised. The Rsis and Sūta have nothing to do in these two Puranas; and it is a curious thing that in the other 16 Puranas, Suta and the Rsis come as the last revisors. So I think that there was a time when a theory gained ground that all the Puranas proceeded from Vyasa, and with that view they revised the 16 Puranas. These latest revisors could not put Suta and the Rsis in the Visnu-purana, because the interlocutors there were Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa and Maitreya, his class-friend. The little historical sense they had, prevented them from committing such an outrage. In the case of the Vamana, too, Pulastva and Nārada were the interlocutors. They both were the original progenitors of the human race.

The celebrated lexicon Amara-koşa says that the Purāṇas The five charac- have five characteristics. Many of the teristics. Purāṇas say the same thing. But Kirfel has shown that these constitute only the one-fortieth part of the whole bulk. The other 39 parts, therefore, should not be, according to Amara, considered as Purāṇa proper. Therefore, this theory also should be summarily rejected. The only characteristic of a Purāṇa is that it should be old. Anything old may be the subject of a Purāṇa, and it covers all the aspects of life.

The Bhagavata attributes ten characteristics to the Puranas.

The ten character. But even those ten characteristics do not istics.

cover all, the 400,000 slokas. The Matsya gives a rational theory about the Puranas. It says

that the Puranas net only have those five characteristics but they also dilate on the sanctity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Arka; and on the dissolution and the preservation of the world. They also concern themselves with righteous conduct, economics, erotics and their opposites. (Ch. 43, vss. 65-67.) This, I believe, is the most comprehensive statement of the contents of the Puranas given in a Purana itself. Even these, I am afraid, do not cover the whole field. My meaning will be apparent as I go on.

I should like to divide the 18 Puranas in six groupe Groups of the according to their character:—
Puranas.

- (1) Encyclopædia of literature ... Garuḍa, Agni and Nārada.
- (2) Tirtha and Vrata ... Skanda, Padmatand Bhavisya.
- (3) With two revisions ... Brahma Bhāgavata and apparent. Brahma-vaivarta.
- (4) Historical ... Brahmāṇḍa, Lost Vāyu and Viṣṇu.
- (5) Sectarian ... Linga, Vāmana and Markaņdeya.
- (6) Old Purāṇa revised ... Varāha Kurma and Matsya. out of existence

Group I.

The first group of the three Purānas is most remarkable as containing the sara or abstract of all the great works in Science and Art in Sanskrit literature. In making the abstracts, the writers throw away all things that are redundant and not required for giving the abstract. The abstract is put into unequivocal, clear and simplest possible language. For instance, there is a

Gaya-Mahatmya.

Gayā-māhātmya as an appendix to Rājā R. L. Mitra's Vāyu-purāṇa in eight chapters. The Agni makes an abstract of it, in three chapters but leaving nothing important behind. The Garuḍa makes an abstract in 23 verses of a long chapter of the Vāyu complete in 66 verses. The Agni-purāṇa gives the stories of the Fish, the Tortoise, the

2

Boar, the Man-lion, and the Dwarf incarnations in three chapters The Rāmāyaṇa has been given in in all. seven chapters, devoting a chapter to each The Ramayana. Kāṇḍa in the Agni and in the Garuḍa the whole thing has been chapter only. The Garuda gives the compressed into one whole of the Hari-vamsa in 11 and The Hari-vamsa. the Agni in 55 verses only. The Mahā-The Mahabharata. bharata has been abstracted by the Agni in three chapters, 70 verses in all, and by the Garuda in one chapter of 42 verses only. Buddha is an Avatāra in the Agni-purāna which devotes half a chapter and 7 verses to him but Garuda does not mention him. This shows that the Garuda was written at a time when he was not

recognised as an avatāra. The Bhagavadgītā in 18 chapters is separated from the Mahā-bhārata and given almost at the end of the Agni in a chapter of 58 verses, while in the Garuḍa it is given away from the Mahā-bhārata in a chapter of 30 verses.

Mr. Pargiter says that the Garuda is of use only for the names of the kings of the three earliest dynasties. According to him Garuda gives a string of names and nothing else. Agni does not say anything about the future kings.

Both the Garuda and the Agni give abstracts of works on medicine, the Garuda in 57 chapters Medicine. and the Agni in 20 chapters. Garuda makes a distinction between Pathology and Medicine but Agni does not think of it. Agni devotes more chapters on snakebite and poison but strangely enough Garuda devotes on this two chapters only. Veterinary art received more attention in the Agni than in the Garuda. It would have been very very interesting if a gentleman with ripe scholarship in medicine could have examined these chapters and pronounced an opinion on them.

The tradition of Sanskrit grammar in both Agni and Garuda
is from Kārtika to Kātyāyana. Pāṇini's
Grammar in the name is not mentioned. Pāṇini's school
seems to have gone out of currency from
the first century B.C. till it was reintroduced by Bhatrhari in the
Res. J.

7th century A.D. Garuda gives an abstract of the Katantra Sūtras, and Agni of the Candra Sūtrss. The Katantra grammar was written forthe benefit of a Satavahana king in the 1st century A.D. by Sarva-varma who seems to have received his inspiration from the tail of a peacock on which Kartika used to ride. Sarva-varmā's work is the briefest imaginable it is briefer than the Upakramanikā of Vidyā-sāgara. It has no chapter on Krts or verbal derivations. That chapter was added by Kātyāyana, say, a century later. Garuda gives an abstract of Sarva-varmā's sūtras supplemented by Kātyayana's. It may. therefore, come another century later, i.e., in the third century A.D. when Visnu-worship was coming to the forefront and Garuda as the vehicle of Visnu, began to attract worshippers. So much so, that in the early 4th century, the Guptas adopted Garuda as their "Lanchana" or insignia. The grammar section of the Garuda-purana may, therefore, be placed in the 3rd or at the latest, 4th century A.D.

The Agni-purāṇa gives an abstract of the Candra Vyākaraṇa.

Grammar in the Agni

which we know from Tibetan sources, was composed in the 4th century A.D. at Candra-dvīpa in the district of Bariśāl.

Candra was most likely a Buddhist. In giving examples of Taddhita the writer, it seems, has made a confession of his being a follower of Candra. He says, " Vetti adhīte Candrakam", i.e., Cāndraka is one who knows and studies Candra grammar. The abstract of Candra in Agni may therefore be placed before the reappearance of Pāṇini in the 7th century A.D. The chapter on Vyākaraṇa in the Nārada adopts the Paṇinian tradition but arranges the different topics of grammar in a practical manner. I am not sure, what book Nārada abstracts from, but it is sure that he comes after Bhatṛhari, i.e., in the 8th century A.D. There is no Śikṣā or

phonetics in the Garuda but the Agni has a short chapter on the subject and it is of the most elementary kind. Perhaps it is an abstract of the Nāradīya Sikṣā. The Nārada-purāna divides S'vara into three classes: Āreika, Gāthika and Sāmika. In connection with Sāmika come Tāna, Rāga, Svara, Grāma and Mūrechanā, terms well known in the art of music. The chapter ends with Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita and their varieties.

Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Alamkāra are not mentioned in the Garuḍa, nor in the Nārada. In Garuḍa's time, most likely, they were not regarded as subjects of special study;

and Nārada does not treat of them because they do not fall within the scope of his encyclopædia which is more religious than literal. But Agni devotes chapters and chapters on them. In Nāṭya-śāstra it gives the abstract of some work based on the dramaturgy of Bharata. On the face of it, it is not an abstract from Bharata. It speaks of Rītis as of four kinds:— "Pāñcālī, Gauḍa-deṣīyā, Vaidarbhī, Lāṭajā tathā." It speaks of Nṛṭya, of Abhinaya, of rhetorical figures, of defects of style and so forth. It shows a development of literary criticism which proceeded the invention of "Dhvani" by Ānanda-vardhana, or the Sūtra-kāra he commented upon. The Agni-purāṇa may, therefore, be put down in the pre-dhvani days, i.e., before the 9th century A.D. It embodies the ideas of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and others. But the particular work or works it abridged have not yet been found out.

Chandah is another subject led under contribution by the

Agni and the Nārada. Agni gives

an abstract of Pingala's Chanda-sūtra

with an unknown commentary but the opinions of this unknown
commentary have been refuted by Halāyudha in the 10th
century in Mālava. Nārada's chandaḥ includes abstracted form
of the Prakrit Chandas, too.

These three encyclopædias pass for Mahā-purāṇas. They afford us a clue of the literature existing in the 4th, 6th, and 8th centuries of the Christian era.

The second group of the Maha-purāṇās consist of Padma,
Skanda and Bhaviṣya. They have been so often revised and so much revised that they may be said to have been revised out of recognition. The

Padma was originally divided into 5 Parvas, viz. 1. Puskara, 2. Tirtha, 3. Great Sacrifices, 4. Achievements of Kings and 5. Salvation. Here we can easily see why the Purana is named after Padma or Lotus. It is because the Puskara or lotus Parva in which Brahmā is born from the Lotus, is the subject-matter of the first parva. The Padma-purāņa in 5 Parvas is lost. But it had a Samuecaya or abstract, a manuscript of the first half of which is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, from which we can have an idea of what the Padma-purāṇa of those days had been. A second scheme of division is given in the first chapter of the Uttara-khanda of the Padma-purāna. It divides the Purāna in 5 khandas, viz., 1. Srsti-khanda, 2. Bhumi-khanda, 3. Pātāla-khanda, 4. Puşkarakhanda and 5. Uttara-khanda. Even in this we can recognise the Padma-purāna in the Puskara-khanda. But in all other schemes it is revised out of recognition. The Anadasrama edition and the Vangavasi elition nowhere explained why it is called the Padma-purana.

An old manuscript written in the Gupta characters of the Hori-uzi variety, without any indication that Skanda the Skanda has ever been divided into Samhitās or Khaṇḍas, is to be found in the Darbar Library, Nepal. From the meagre description I could bring, it appears to be a Purana of old with Skanda as one of its interlocutors. manuscripts of the Amvikā-khanda and of the Reva-khanda. acquired in east Bengal and remaining in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, show that the Purana was once divided into khandas the subject-matter being purely Paurānika. But at the present moment we find the Skanda Purana in two different forms: (1) divided into 7 khandas, viz., Māhesvara, Vaisņava, Brāhma, Kāsī, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa, dealing mainly with liturgy and legends of holy places; and (2) in six Samhitas. viz., Sanat-kumāra, Sūta, Samkara, Vaisnava, Brāhmī and Saurī. and 50 subordinate khandas. In none of these we find Skanda much in evidence. So it is seen that this Purana has gone out of recognition by revision.

All the Purāṇas drew their materials of the dynasties of the Kali Age from the BhaviṣyaBhaviṣya. But in the present receneions of the Purāṇa (and there are four of them)

not a word about the dynasties of the Pāṇḍavas down to the Guptas is to be found. It can also be said to have gone out of recognition in the course of revisions.

In the third group I have placed those Purāṇas which seemed to me to have undergone two general revisions. They are like eggs.

The yolk is the kernel, the white is the first revision and the shell is the second revision. In the Brahma-purāṇa, Brahmā's interlocution with the Rṣis on the mountain Meru, is the real Purāṇa; but it is not large, being less than 46 chapters. That speech reported by Vyāsa with additions, to the Rṣis in his hermitage, is the second stage. The whole reported by Sauti to the Rṣis at the Naimiṣa forest is the third stage.

Similarly, the interlocation between Suka and Parīkṣita from the beginning of the second Skaudha

Bhagavata to the first-half of the 5th chapter of the 12th Skaudha, is the real Purāna. The

introduction in the second-half of the 1st Skandha, explaining who Suka was, who Parikṣita was, and why they came together, with the 6th chapter of the 12th Skandha shows the second development of the Purāṇa. The first-half of the 1st Skandha and the last-half of the 12th form the third stage.

The Brahma-vaivarta as we have it at present also shows the three developments. The interlocutions between Nārada and Sanat-kumāra is the real Purāṇa. Nārada's quarrel with his father for his refusal to help him in creation and his consequent suffering and submission form the introduction and his marriage with the daughter of a king, the conclusion. These are developments of the second stage. Sūta and the Rṣis come and form the shell of the egg.

The 4th group may be called the historical group. In it

there are three Purāṇas in which the
Orientalists are greatly interested as
historical and geographical. Of these
again, the Vāyu is lost. Only a portion of the second part of
the genuine Vāyu is to be found in the library of the Asiatic
Society, Bengal. The rest of the Vāyu as we find at present
may be merged in the Brahmāṇḍa.

In the Viṣṇu, Sūta and S'aunaka play no part, and they
cannot, because the chief interlocutors
are Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa and
Maitreya his class-friend, to whose school S'ūta belonged.

In the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, tradition ascribes the Vayu and Brahchief interlocutorship to Vāyu; but the works as we find them, Suta and the Rṣis usurp nearly two-thirds of the talk.

The 5th group consists of sectarian works, Linga, Vāmana

Group V

Linga

with the worship of the phallic emblem

and those worshippers of Siva who

confine their worship to the emblem. Vāmana, though it

describes loosely from the beginning the Dwarf incarnation of

Visnu and ends with the adventures of the Dwarf,—is in

reality a handbook of the Saiva sects,

(1) Pāśupata, (2) Saiva, (3) Kāla-damana, (4) Kāpālika. Here Vāmana is nowhere one of the interlocutors. The chief interlocutors being Pulastya and Nārada; Sūta and the Rṣis having no concern with the Purāṇa. The second part of this Purāṇa is called the Vṛhad-vāmana, but we have not found it yet.

The Mārkaṇḍa-purāṇa has a long introduction in which four bird sages, undergoing punishment for disobeying their learned father in their previous existence as learned Brahmins, solving some intricate questions about the Mahābhārata. Then

commences the interlocution of Mārkaṇḍa giving the description of some of the previous ages of Manu and the worship of the Devi.

The sixth group consists of Varāha, Matsya and Kūrma.

According to the tradition, the Purāṇas should be spoken by these three incarnations of Viṣṇu. But actually we find that Varāha speaks about a half of the Varāha, Matsya only the one-third part of the Matsya and Kūrma only the one-eighth part of the Purāṇa ascribed to his name.

I have found two criteria for deciding the age of a Purana:

Criterion for deciding age

(1) the number and order of the incarnations of Vişnu and (2) the enumerations of tribes and castes of India and of surrounding countries.

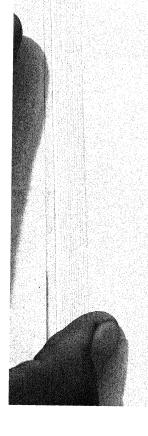
(1) Number and order of incarnations of Visnu. If in any Purana the number of the incarna-(1) Number and tions is ten and the order is the present order of the incarnations of Visnu one, viz., the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-lion, Parasu-rāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa or Bala-rāma, Buddha and Kalki,-it cannot go beyond the 10th century A.D. For in the 11th and the 12th century Ksemendra in Kashmere and Jaya-deva in Bengal wrote hymns to the Ten incarnations, in the same order. Two centuries earlier, Daśāvatāra cards of Viṣṇu-pura with Buddha occupying the fifth place show another order. These cards were designed in the palmy days of the Malla kings of Visnu-pura who started an era from 694 A.D. The Bhagavata has 23 Avataras; of these the last two Buddha and Kalki come under rather suspicious circumstances. Up to Kṛṣṇa and Bala-rāma, the Avatāras are all numbered but these two have no number before their names, and this list occurs in the second stage of the Bhagavata. So the latest revision must have been made some centuries before the 8th century A.D., for from 23 to 10 is a long leap. In the genuine portion of the Bhagavata, the list runs up to 25 in chapter 7 of Skandha II; and it is curious that the Garuda, which I put in the third or fourth century A.D. for its taking Kalāpa tradition of Grammar, copies not the Bhāgavata enumeration of Avatāras but that which is found in its latest revision.

Similarly in the Padma-purāṇa, Bhṛgu, the father-in-law of Viṣṇu cursed Viṣṇu that he would be born on earth seven times only. I need not be exhaustive. But it is sure that a comparison of the enumeration of the different incarnations will lead to important results as regards the chronology of the Purāṇas.

(2) The enumeration of castes and tribes of India and

The enumeration surrounding countries, may also lead to of castes and tribes important results as regards chronology. In India and sur. For instance, in the latest portion of the Brahma-purāna Pārasīkas are mentioned as an important people. The Pārasīkas became dominant on the west of India in 226 a.d. But, in the real Purāna spoken by Brahmā, Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas are mentioned. These became powerful in the west of India from 200 B.c. to 200 a.d. So there must have elapsed from two to eight centuries between the composition of the Purāna and its latest revision.

The study of the Puranas has brought to light India's Indian Archiwork in the Indian archipelago. In pelago a chapter of the Vayu-purana, published by Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra—call it Brahmāṇḍapurana if you like,—there is an enumeration of six islands in the Indian ocean with a very large number of smaller islands many yojanas beyond the seas. The six islands enumerated are: (1) Anga, (2) Yama, (3) Malaya, (4) Sankha, (5) Kusa and (6) Varāha. They were inhabited by the ucleochas and the worshippers of gods. In one of these, i.e., Yama-dvīpa, there is a mountain named Mandara where Agastya had his hermitage, and where on holy moments the heaven came down on the hills, and where there is a holy place sacred to Mahādeva and where his sister named Kumudā is worshipped. In the



Varāha island, Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation is worshipped to the exclusion of other deities.

The chief characteristic of the Purāṇas are not the five, Holy place and given in the Amara-koṣa, nor the ten of religious vows the Bhāgavata. The Matsya has given the true estimate of these characteristics. It practically says that the spread of education and knowledge is the scope of the Purāṇas. But one who runs can read two things in the Purāṇas, (1) the liturgy and legends of holy places, and (2) the liturgy and legends of religious vows. The liturgy is always a subject-matter of the Smṛti and the Purāṇas often usurp this, but the legends are their monopoly.

The description of the holy areas of Kuruksetra, Mathura, Vrndā-vana, Ujjayinī, Prabhāsa, Abu, Dvārakā, etc., are so minute and appear to be so accurate that when on the first onrush of Muhammadan conquest, these were either abandoned or desolated. Indian archæologists, Sannyāsins and house-holders could with the Puranas in hand identify the holy spots even though these areas remained desolate for three hundred years. It is a glorious achievement of the Hindu religious activities that in the 15th and the 16th centuries, these areas were revived and restored. The descriptions of the temples of Somanath, Mahakāla and others also helped the Hindus to restore them shortly after they had been demolished. These restorations and revivals were possible simply because the Puranas recorded and registered the holy sites. M. M. Nilmoni Mukherji, the editor of the Kurma-purana, regrets that many of the holy places recorded in the Puranas are not to be found in the present moment, but that the majority of them can be identified, even after so many revolutions,-political, social, cultural, religious and literary,goes to the credit of the Puranas.

The Purāṇas also record minutely the religious calendar of Ancient Hindu the Hindus at different times and Calendar different places. A comparison of this calendar with those of the present day will be an anthropological interest of the highest kind. The comparison will show 3

how with every change in the habit, manners, customs, social and domestic arrangements the calendar also has changed. For instance, what is Sarasvatī-pūjā in Bengal with the imposing figure of Sarasvatī and her lotus garden is only a springfestival in other parts of India; what is Durgā-pūjā in Bengal—is an autumn-festival with the imposing worship of luxuriant vegetation in other parts of India. But look into the Purāṇas, these sacred days were allotted to some proper deities whose worship was the centre of attraction during those days. In this way the Purāṇas and specially the Mahā-purāṇas, are rich mines of information on ancient Indian subjects, and the best way for the beginner is to study the Garuḍa-purāṇa. It gives all things in one place in the briefest manner.

The operations in search for Sanskrit manuscripts have brought to light this vast mass of Purānic literature. But much remains to be done yet. Few Purānas are complete. Old recensions are to be sought for; new manuscripts are to be brought to light, and its luxuriant growth for centuries are to be laid bare before an appreciative public. For this purpose a well-organized institution should be started and encouraged under the supervision of scholars of mature understanding and wide outlook.

II.—The Date of the Eauddha Gan O Doha

By Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sastri, the discoverer of the Bauddha Gan O Doha, has rendered a yeoman's service to the cause of linguistic researches by furnishing us with a land-mark in the evolution of several Eastern languages. The book which is published in the Series of the Vangiya-Sāhitya Pariṣad is divided into four parts and contains four independent works namely :- (1) The Caryācaryaviniscaya, (2) the Dohākosa of Sarojavajra, (3) the Dohākosa of Kṛṣṇācarya and (4) portions of the Dakarnava. The Caryacaryaviniscaya contains a number of songs mostly in Bengali with a running commentary in Sanskrit. The two Dohākoṣas also contain couplets in the same vernacular with running commentaries in Sanskrit. The Dakarnava is a Sanskrit Tantric work with passages written in a curious language intervening. The book was published some eleven years back in Bengali characters and that is probably the reason why it did not meet with the popularity it deserved; and failed to attract the attention of the European scholars engaged in linguistic researches. In Bengal this publication met with absurd and hostile criticisms at the hands of literary adventurers and opportunists. This unique publication has been thus much neglected and thrown into the back-ground.

Some critics declared that it is not Bengali but Prakṛta. Some declared the language to be Apabhramśa. Others were content to say that the language is not so old as the editor would like to think. The editor, however, boldly declared the language to be the language of authors living in Bengal, and as a language at least one thousand years old, be it Bengali or Apabhramśa or Prakṛtâ. He was modest in his estimate when he called them as only thousand years old. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee of the Calcutta University, who is a close student

of the Indian dialects with special reference to Bengali recognized the language of the songs and Dohās as Bengali but he declared in his monumental work on the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, that the songs cannot be of any earlier date than the middle of the tenth century. The object of the present paper is to show that the estimate of the editor and that of Dr. Chatterjee are too modest and that the date of the songs is much earlier.

In the Caryācaryaviniscaya we find mention of a large number of authors, some of whom are known to us from different other sources. If their dates are settled we naturally settle the dates of the songs they composed. Mm. Sāstrī will argue that Luipā was the first Siddhacarya and as he helped Dīpankarasrījnāna—a contemporary of Mahīpāla I (798-1030 A.D.), the songs can never be earlier than that period. But the present writer unfortunately cannot associate himself with the arguments advanced by the learned editor as they are against all literary and historical traditions, as will be shown presently.

The authors of the songs include Luipā, Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Śabarī, Kṛṣṇācārya, Dārikapā, Dombī Heruka and many others. And when we fix up their time we fix up the time of the Bauddha Gān O Dohā. All these names are celebrated and well-known in the realm of Buddhist Tāntric literature and numerous works are attributed to them in the Tibetan Tangyur. They wrote a large number of Sādhanas and many among them are to be found in the Eādhanamālā published as nos. 26 and 41 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Some biographical accounts of these authors are also recorded in the Tibetan works like the Pag Sam Jon Zan, Tārānāth's Geschieste and the History of the 84 Mahāsiddhas, published in German by Arthur Grünwedel. These works, however, contain

¹ Op. cit, p. 81.

³ In the Tangyur Catalogue only two authors are mentioned for the work Mbhisamayavibhanga. It is quite possible that Dīpankara wrote only a commentary on the original work composed by Luipā.

much that is legendary which appears to a student of scientific history as absurd and unreliable. But these are unfortunately at present our only material with which we may venture to build a chronology of the Tantric authors.

Taranath informs us that Asanga-elder brother of Vasubandhu-introduced the Tantras into Buddhism and that they were handed down in the most secret manner possible upto the time of Dharmakirti (600-615 A.D.). In another place Tārānāth tells us that Saraha introduced the Buddhakapāla Tantra, Luipā the Yoginīsancaryā, Kambala and Padmavajra the Hevajratantra, Kṛṣṇācārya the Samputatilaka, Lalitavajra the three divisions of Kṛṣṇayamāritantra, Gambhiravajra the Vajrāmṛta, Kukkuri the Mahāmāyā, and Pito (?) the Kālacakra.2 Further materials for constructing a chronological account of these authors are afforded by the two lists of succession of preceptors and disciples, one given in the Tangyur Catalogue3 and the other in the Pag Sam Jon Zan quoted in the edition of the Cakrasambhāratantra4 by the late Kazi Dawasam Dup in Arthur Avalon's Tantric Texts Series. In the first the succession is as follows :--

Padmavajra
|
Anangavajra
|
Indrabhūti
|
Bhagavati Lakṣmī
|
Lilāvajra
|
Dārikapā
|
Sahajayoginī Cintā
|
Dombī Heruka

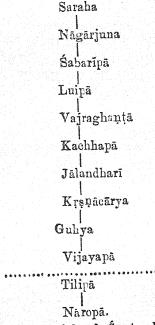
¹ Tārānāth, p. 201.

² Ibid, p. 275f.

⁸ Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, 2nd. Partie, pp. 211-212.

^{*} Op. cit. Introduction, p xxxv.

In the second the succession is shown as follows:



Now Kamalasıla the disciple of Santarakşita (705-762 A.D.) went to Tibet at the invitation of the then Tibetan king in the year 762 A.D. He is well-known as the author of the voluminous commentary on the Ta'tvasangraha of Santarakşita which is published as nos. 30 and 31 in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. This Kamalasıla wrote two commentaries in which he followed the earlier commentaries made by Saraha. It stands to reason, therefore, that Saraha must have flourished at least before the middle of the 8th century. From the Tibetan sources we understand that Guru Padmasambhava went to Tibet on the invitation of the then king of Tibet in the year 747 A.D. and there established a monastery at Samye on the model of the Odantapuri Vihara in the year 749 A.D. in collaboration with his brother-in-law Santarakşita. It therefore, stands also to reason that Indrabhūti—the father of Padmasambava and

¹ Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, 2nd. Partie, p. 248.

² Waddel. Lamaism, p. 67.

disciple of Anangavajra must have belonged to the 1st quarter of the 8th. century.1

Thirdly Dārikapā in one of his songs reverentially mentions the name of Luipā and it stands therefore, to reason that Luipā was earlier than Darikapā.² Fourthly, it may be remembered that Kambala and Padmavajra were responsible for the introduction of the Hevajratantra into Buddhism.³ Jālandharīpā in the second succession list was the first to profess the Hevajratantra and to write a few works on the same, and they are preserved to-day in the Tangyur collection in Tibetan translations.⁴

If we take Padmasambhava to be 30 years of age when he visited Tibet, 747 A.D. and if we take Indrabhūti to be 30 years of age when his second son Padmasambhava was born, then the time of Indrabhūti can be fixed in a period between A.D. 687-717 onwards. And if we take 12 years between each succession of a Guru and his disciple then the approximate time of the first succession list will be as follows:—

Padmavajra Cir	. 693 A.D.
Anangavajra ,,	705 ,,
Indrabhūti ;,	717 "
Lakşmīnkarā ,,	729 ,,
Līlāvajra "	74l ",
Dārikapā "	753 ,,
Sahajayoginī Cintā "	765 ,,
Dombi Heruka ,,	777 ,,

Then again, if Jālandharīpā is considered to be removed by one generation from Padmavajra who introduced the *Hevajratantra* for the first time and the interval of 12 years is taken between each succession the chronological order of the second succession list will be as given below. But it must be remarked in this connection that I do not consider the second list as thoroughly

¹ Glimpses of Vajrayāna in the Madras Conference Proceedings, p. 133f.

² Cf. Baud lha Gan, p. 53.

लुइपाअपरा दारिक द्वादए भुत्रमों लधा ॥

³ Tārānāth, p. 275.

[•] See appendix at the end of the Bauddha Gan O Doha, p. 29.

exhaustive and it is very probable that there is a big gap somewhere in the middle because we know already that Tilipā and Nāropā definitely flourished in the reign of Mahīpāla I (978-1030 A.D.) of the Pāla Dynasty. Therefore, in the proposed chronological order the time of the authors mentioned after Kṛṣṇācārya is to be taken as tentative:—

Saraha	Cir.	633 A.D.
Nāgārjuna	7,5	645 ,,
Śabarīpā	33	657 ,,
Luipā		669 ,,
Vajraghaņţā	3)	681 ,,
Kachhapā		693 ,,
Jālandharīpā	,,	705 ,,
Kṛṣṇācārya	,,,	717 ,,
Guhya	,,	729 ,
Vijayapā		741 ,,

When we fix the time of Saraha we practically go to the root of Buddhist Tantra because Saraha is reputed to be one of the chief promulgators of the Tantric doctrines and practices, and both Taranath and the author of the Pag Sam Jon Zan agree in saying so. According to these authors Rahulabhadra or Saraha was the name of a Buddhist sage born of a Brähmin and a Dākinī in the city of Rājñī (?) in the eastern country. He was an adept both in the Brahmanical and Buddhist lores and flourished during the reign of king Chandanapala of Pracya. He worked some miracles in the presence of king Ratnaphala and his Brahmin minister and thereby converted them into Buddhist faith. Afterwards he became the high priest of Nalanda. It is also related of him that he visited Oriesa where from one Choveśakalpa he learned the Mantrayana and from there proceeded to Mahārāstra. There he united in Yoga with a female ascetic who had approached him in the guise of an archer's daughter. Having performed the Mahamudra ritual he attained to Siddhi. He was thenceforward called Saraha. He used to sing Doha hymns of mysticism and thereby converted 5,000 people and their king to Buddhism.1

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, Index, p. xxvi.

Saraha wrote a large number of works and many translations of these are preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur. He is characterised as one of the earliest diffusers of Tantric Buddhism and it will, therefore, be interesting to contemporary calculation makes him a know that our of Dharmakirti during or after whose life-time the Tantras got publicity. Several songs of his are recorded in the Bauddha $G\bar{a}n$ O $Doh\bar{a}$ and the language of these songs must be as old as the middle of the 7th century. We do not know where Saraha flourished beyond the fact that he belonged to the eastern country. There are two sadhanas in the Sadhanamala for the worship of Raktalokeśvara or Trailokyavaśańkara which is described as coming out of Uddiyana and as introduced by Saraha. I have shown in an article contributed to the Indian Historical Quarterly that Uddiyana was very likely situated in Assam, probably the Western part of it, which is also a part of Bengal. Saraha is connected with Uddiyana-one of the four sacred spots of Tantric Buddhism. And is there any wonder if we consider him to be a Bengali and the language he used in the songs as the language of his own country? One may raise up an objection that the Tantric Saraha may not be the same as the Saraha of the Dohās. In reply, it may be pointed out, that Saraha was a Vajrayanist and in the songs he has given ample evidence that he was so.

Saraha had a disciple in Nāgārjuna who is of course different from the Nāgārjuna—the founder of the Mādhyamaka system. Absurd accounts are recorded of his life and wild stories are told of his stupendous magical feats. We can, however, establish that Nāgārjuna was a historical person and belonged to the Tāntric school of Buddhism. Two sādhanas of his are recorded in the Sādhanamālā. One relates to the worship of Vajratārā, while the other refers to the worship of Ekajaṭā. In the colophon of the latter it is distinctly mentioned that Nāgārjuna rescued the sādhana from the country of Bhoṭa which is the ancient name of Tibet. The worship of Ekajaṭā,

^{1.} Sādhanamālā p. 267.

therefore, appears to have been current in Tibet and the goddess probably belonged to the original Bon religion of that country. Nāgārjuna was a famous scholar and composed a large number of works. Translations in Tibetan of most of his works are preserved now in the Tibetan Tangyur. He wrote several works on the Guhya amājatantra and this shows the antiquity of this authoritative work on Tantra and the esteem in which it was held. No song of his appears in the Bauddha Gān O Dohā and it is not definitely known as to the place where he was born and flourished.

Sabarīpā (657 A.D.) is our third author in chronological order and a disciple of Nāgārjuna. He is described as having belonged to the hill-tribe caste, the Śabaras or huntsman, in Bāṅgālā where he met Nāgārjuna during the latter's residence in that country and embraced Tāntrism, and after being initiated by him along with his two wives Lokī and Guṇī attained to Sainthood 1. Sabarīpā was a historical person and he had composed a sādhana of Kurukullā which is published in the Sādhanamālā for the first time. He is also the author of a number of melodious songs in the vernacular of his country. He wrote moreover, a large number of works and many of them are preserved in Tibetan translations. He was a follower of the Vajrayoginītantra.

Luipā (669 a.D.) is our next author in chronological order, and a disciple of Śabarīpā. He is regarded as the first Siddhā-cārya or magician and is even now respected by the Tibetan Buddhist. In Cordier's Tangyur Catalogue he is distinctly called a Bengali.² He is further said to have sprung up from the fisherman caste of Uddiyāna and was very fond of the entrails of fish. He was formerly a clerk in the employ of the king of Uddiyāna and was known as Sumantas ubha.² Several songs of his are recorded in the Bauddha Gān O Dohā, and

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, Index, p. cxxxi.

² Catalogue du FondsTibetain, II, p. 33.

^{*} Pag Sam Jon Zan, index, p. exv.

these songs being written by a Bengali in the soil of Bengal may appropriately be called Bengali.

No information is available about Vajragbanțā and Kachhapā and therefore, leaving them out at present, we pass on to another great name in Tāntric Buddhism. This is Padmavajra (693 A.D.)—the first name in the first succession list above referred to. He is credited with the authorship of a large number of works in the Tibetan Tangyur. He was first to introduce the Hevajratantra, and he stands as the author of a most interesting work in Sanskrit titled the Guhyasiddhi which the present writer had the good fortune to discover. Padmavajra is also said to be a contemporary of Indrabhūti, Lalitavajra and Kukkurīpāda.

Jālandharīpā (705 A.D.) also known as Hādipā whom we have placed one generation after Padmavajra or Saroruhavajra, is characterized by Tārānāth as a contemporary of many important personalities such as Bhartrhari, Vimalacandra, Krsnācārya or Kānhupā, Tautipā and even Dharmakīrti. In several works notably the Pag Sam Jon Zan it is said that he was buried in a hole underground by the order of the king Gopicandra of Catigaon who was afterwards converted to mysticism by the Ācārya. It is indeed very difficult to fix his time correctly from the above account and all that can be said now is Jalandharī was regarded as a very ancient Siddhācārya as may be evidenced by Tārānāth's making him a contemporary of Dharmakirti whose time is definitely known to be the first half of the 7th century A.D. His other contemporaries are mostly mysterious persons and none can say, with any measure of accuracy, as to the time when they flourished. The very fact that Jalandhari wrote a commentary on a work of Saroruhavajra (also known as Padmavajra) and followed the Hevajratantra introduced by the latter, places him at least one generation after Padmavajra who flourished at the end of the 7th century. Jalandhari wrote several works in Sanskrit, translations of which are preserved in Tibetan Tangyur. From

^{1.} Tārānāth, p. 275f.

the list of works composed by him we can understand that Jalandhari knew about the existence of the Cakrasamvaratantra, the Vajrayoginītantra and the Hevajratantra.

Anangavajra (705 A.D.) the disciple of Padmavajra, is characterized in the History of the 84 Mahasiddhas, as the son of king Gopāla of Eastern India. The time of Gopāla has been fixed by V. A. Smith as cir., 746 A.D. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇā placed him between 695 and 705 A.D. 1 Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyangar also doubts the date proposed by V. A. Smith and in the absence of any inscriptional or monumental evidence we are more in favour of accepting the earlier date. Anangavajra's time will therefore, be in consonance with the theory advanced in the History of 84 Mahasıddhas. Anangavajra seems to be a fairly well-known author as can be seen from the works written by him whose translations now find place in the Tibetan Tangyur. One of his famous compositions is the Prajnopayas viniscayasiddhi, copies of which are available in the Nepal Darbar Library, the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The work is characterized by his boldness of spirit and the lucidity of his teachings. Like Jālandharīpā, who is probably his contemporary, he also wrote several works on the Hevojratantra which was for the first time introduced into Buddhism by his Guru Padmavajra in collaboration with Kambalapa. We do not know if Anangavajra wrote any song in vernacular, but it can be easily seen that he was a native of Bengal.

Indrabhūti (717 A.D.) the king of Uddiyana is the direct disciple of Anangavajra. His sister was Laksminkara who was married according to the History of 84 Siddhas to the prince of Sambhala and attained Siddhi. Indrabhūti was regarded as an authority on Vajrayāna and had written a large number of works. Twenty-three among them are preserved in the pages of the Tibetan Tangyur in translations. He stands as the author of the Kurukulla sadhana in the Sādhanamālā and as the author of a very interesting work the Jñānasiddhi which

^{1.} Indian Logic, p. 323.

has been taken up for publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. He is not known to us as a writer of vernacular songs but as he belonged to Uddiyana he may be taken to be a man from Bengal.

The next author in chronological order is Kṛṣṇācārya (717 A.D.) also known as Känhupā the disciple of Hādīpā. Tārānāth makes him a contemporary of Jalandhari, Bhartrhari, Gopicandra and even Dharmakīrti. Tārānāth is probably wrong in making him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti who as we definitely know flourished in the first half of the 7th century. Krsnācārva seems to be a contemporary of Jālandhari and Gopicandra both of whom in all probability flourished in the first quarter of the 8th century. According to Pag Sam Jon Zun Krsna was born in a Brāhmin family of Orissa and was initiated into the mystic cult by Jalandharīpā. His disciple was a weaver (Tāntipā) and he is credited in the same work with having introduced the Tantras in which the male and female divinities sit clasping each other. 1 Kranacārya stands as the author of a Dohākosa and several songs of the Caryācaryaviniscaya written in his own vernacular which was probably Udiya and showed great affinity towards the old Bengali language.

In the history of Vajrayāna the name of Lakṣminkarā (729 A.D.) is interesting not only because she is a woman but also because of the novel doctrines she preached without reserve and with great confidence and emphasis. Born in the royal family of Uḍḍiyāna as sister of Indrabhūti, she showed remarkable boldness in preaching her own peculiar theories in a small but interesting work entitled the Advayasiddhi. This work was long lost in the original Sanskrit but was preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur in translation. To this work in the original Sanskrit attention of scholars was first drawn by Mm. Haraprasād Sāstrī in one of the stray numbers of an extremely irregular journal which is known as the Dacca Review. We have since had an opportunity of studying the original work more carefully but this is not the place to enumerate the leading

¹ Op. cit. index p. v.

ideas revealed by the study. Suffice to say, that in this work the influence of Indrabhūti's Jñānasiddhi is very pronounced, and this is due probably to the fact that Lakṣmīmkarā was not only a sister of Indrabhūti but one of his favourite disciples also.

Laksmīmkarā's direct disciple was Līlāvajra (741 A.D.). He was also a Vajrācārya of great repute and wrote a large number of authoritative works. So far as we know none of his works is extant in original Sanskrit, but many are preserved in Tibetan translations in the Tangyur collection. In his time both Vajravāna and Sahajayāna were in a flourishing condition; and the Guhyasamājatantra and Krsnayamāritantra were regarded as very authoritative. In fact Līlāvajra composed works on all of them. It appears from the Tangyur that he acknowledged also another guru by name Vilāsavajra besides the one already mentioned. In the same way besides Dārikapā he had another devoted disciple in Karunacala. This latter was a poet of high merit and two of his compositions appear in the Sādhanamālā. His compositions are distinguished by the easy flowing diction and devotional language. In the end of the sadhana of Vajramahākāla he has mentioned the name of his guru Līlāvajra with great reverence.

The name of Dārikapā (753 A.D.)—the disciple of Līlāvajra is fairly well known through the publication of Mm. Haraprasād Sāstrī. He is inclined to think that Dārika was a Bengali and wrote a number of songs in his own dialect, some of which are recorded in the Bauddha Gan O Dohā. In one of his songs he offers obeisance to Luipā and this leads the editor to think that Dārika was a direct disciple of Lui. Luipā as we have shown belonged to an earlier age and as such any close connection between the two is hardly admissible. Lui was reputed to be the first Siddhācārya and that may be the reason why Dārika reverentially mentions him in one of his songs. Dārika composed a pretty large number of works in Sanskrit but none of them is found to be existent in original Sanskrit. From the Tangyur it appears that Darika wrote books on Cak: asamvaratantra, Kalacakratuntra, Vajra, oginitantra.

In the same chain of succession another woman-guru steps in in the person of Sahajavogini Cinta (765 A.D.); who is a disciple of Dārikapā, and is known to us as the author of the Pvaktabhāvānugatatattvasiddhi-a small work in Sanskrit of which a translation in Tibetan also exists. It appears from her work that she was a follower of the Vijnanavadī school of Buddhist: philosophy, and laid particular stress on the universe being nothing but the creation of the citta or the mind. It is the mind, she says, which begets misery and in consequence creates all external objects. The Prajna and Upava are also the creations of the mind and when they combine they give rise to Mahasukha in the mind which fancies the whole external world to the forms of Mahāsukha. The mind, she says, has its vagaries and its own ways. Sometimes it sleeps, sometimes it is awake and active. Sometimes it begets the desires, sometimes it is pure or impure. Sometimes it has many forms and sometimes it is in an undescribable state. The Yogin who is able to realize the voidness of the external world and keep the mind free from reflection in all its different states and in all its vagaries and ways is really emancipated and the Buddhahood for him is easy of attainment.

Next comes Dombī Heruka (777 a.D.)—the disciple of Sahajayoginī who like Dārika is well-known to many through the publication of the Bauddha Gān O Dohā. He is described as the king of Magadha who later on became an ascetic. He composed several songs which appear in the Bauddha Gān and is reputed to be the author of the Dombīyātika containing vernacular songs. He also composed a sādhana of the goddess Nairātmā which is recorded in the Sādhanamālā. From this sādhana it appears that he was a follower of the Hevajratantra. He wrote a fairly large number of works and translations of many exist in Tibetan. Besides these he wrote another work entitled Sahajasiddhi which we had the good fortune to discover.

In the history of the evolution of Tantric Buddhism and the Bengali language, there is a big gap of about 200 years from

777 to 980 A.C. and the chronology of the period is completely shrouded in mystery. The palmy days of the Tantric culture again reappeared in the reign of king Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty who flourished according to V. A. Smith in a period between 978—1030 A. D. It is in this period that Dipañkaraśrijñāna flourished and carried the torch of Buddhistic culture to Tibet to illumine that country. It is in this period that Advayavajra or Avadhūtipā, his disciple Lalitagupta, Tilopā of Cātigāon, Ratuākaraśānti, Prajñākaramati and Nāropā flourished and were regarded by their highly technical compositions as the greatest luminaries of the Vikramaśīla monastery.

Having thus outlined the chronological history of the Buddhist Tantric authors, some of whom wrote in vernaculars also, let us now divert our attention to the others, authors of songs who do not come under the scope of the previous discussions. Unfortunately for us we have no information as regards the time or biographical details of the authors like Guṇḍarī, Cāṭilya, Mahīdhara, Vīṇā, Dheṇḍhana, Bhāde Tāḍaka and Jayanandī. Regarding the rest we shall here give a short account together with their dates wherever possible.

1. & 2. Kukkuri and Kambala: In Tangyur Kukkuri was also known as Kukkurāja or Kukkurarāja and a large number of works are attributed to bim in Tibetan Tangyur. In the Sādhanamālā he stands as the author of the Mahāmāyāsādhana where Mahamaya represents Heruka in the embrace of Buddhadākinī, and is described as four-armed and four-faced surrounded by four Yoginis. In this sādhana the word Heruka is analysed, dissected and each particle explained. It contains also some couplets in vernacular which may very probably represent either Bengali or Udiyā. According to Tārānāth1 he introduced the Mahāmāyātantra and was a contemporary of Kambala, Padmavajra, and Lalitavajra. It has already been shown that Padmavajra flourished in A. D. 693 and therefore the time of Kukkuri and Kambala also should be placed some-where near.

¹ Tārānāth, pp. 188, 275.

Viruva: He stands as an author of more than a dozen works in the Tibetan Tangyur. He is styled as Mahācārya, Yogīśvara and Mahāyogī. In the Sādhanamālā he appears as the author of the last sādhana which refers to the worship of a very furious form of Mahākāla with eight faces, sixteen arms and four legs. In the sādhana the whole Mandala of Mahākāla with attendant deities is described in detail and numerous applications of the mantra are mentioned for a variety of purposes beginning with the relieving of pain of a woman in labour and ending in the scaring of animals. He was a native of Tripurā and his songs must therefore, be in Bengalī.

Bhusuku: Bhusuku is a very interesting figure but who was he and where he flourished are the two questions which must be regarded as problematic for some time to come. He appears to be identical with Śāntideva who is reputed to be the author of the Sikṣāsamuccaya, the Bodhicaryāvatāra, and the Sātrasamuccaya. A manuscript preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal gives an interesting biography of Śāntideva and there we meet with an account of how Śāntideva was nicknamed Bhusuku. There it is said:

भुञ्जानोऽपि प्रभास्वर: सुप्तोऽपि कुटि'गतोऽपित्वदेवेति भुसुकुसमाधिसमापन-त्वात् भुसुकुनामस्याति' सङ्घेऽपि ।

In the Pag Sam Jon Zan² it is said that Śāntideva was a native of Saurāṣṭra but I am inclined to think that he belonged to Bengal. It is evident from his song—

म्राजि भुसु वंगाली भईली । ग्रिम घरिणि चन्डाकी खेलि॥

It is not known when he flourished. He was quite a well-known figure in the Nalanda monastery but I' Tsing did not mention him in his travels. Santarakṣita (705-762 A.D)—author of the *Tattvasangraha* in one of his works entitled the

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, index, p. lxxii.

² Ibid, index, p. xcix.

Tattvasiddki quotes from the Bodhicargāvatāra. It is therefore, very likely that he must have flourished sometime after I' Tsing's departure from India in 695 a.D. and Śāntarakṣitā's first visit to Tibet in 743 a.D.¹

Śānti: Ratnākaraśānti is nicknamed in the Tangyur as Śāntipā. He wrote a large number of works and their translations are preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur. He was styled as Āeārya and Mahāpaṇḍita. In the Sādhanamālā he stands as the author of a sādhana devoted to the worship of Vajratārā. There his name is also mentioned in connection with the diffusion of the worship of Trailokyākṣepa—a form of Heruka? He was a fairly well-known scholar and was incharge of the eastern gate of the Vikramašīla monastery. He was a contemporary of king Mahīpāl (978-1030 A.D.) and therefore must have flourished during his reign.

Aryadeva: All that we know about him is that he was a follower of Vajrayāna and the author of the Cittasodhana-prakarana which was published by Mm. H. Sāstri in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1898. He must be distinguished from the earlier Aryadeva—the disciple of Nāgārjuna who is the founder of the Madhyamaka system and flourished in the second century A.D. Āryadeva was very hard on Hindus whose pet theories and doctrines of salvation he scathingly criticized and held up to ridicule. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few stanzas from his work:

प्रतरक्षि गड्गायां नै व खाशुंबिसईति। तस्माद्धमीं ह्यां पुंतां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्कलम् ॥ यमों यदि भवेत् स्नानात् के वर्तानां कृतार्थं ता। नक्षान्द्वं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनां तु का कथा॥ पापचयोऽपि स्नानेन ने व स्यादिति निश्चयः। यता रागादिवुंबिस्त दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम्॥ *

प्रणय्य श्रीगुरुं नाथं त्रे लोक्याचे पहैरुकम । रुस्माधनविधि : श्रान्तिपादोक्त : प्रविभज्यते ॥

¹ Foreword to the Tattvasamgraha, p. xxiif.

² op. cit. p. 474.

B Pag Sam Jon Zan, index, p. ex.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1898, p. 175ff.

From his songs it appears however that he was a resident of Bengal.

Kankana: Kankanapā is reputed to be the author of the Caryādohākoṣāgītikā and only one song of his appears in the Bauddha Gān O Dohā. The clue to ascertain his date is furnished by the Tangyur catalogue¹ where he is described as a descendant of Kambalāpa. Kambalapā, it may be remembered, was the person with whose collaboration Padmavajra introduced the Hevajratantra. Padmavajra flourished in Cir. A.D. 693 and therefore Kankanapā must be only one generation later and his time will fall in with the time of Anangavajra 705 A.D.

Thus the time of the carliest Dohās in Bengali goes back to the middle of the 7th. century when Saraha flourished and Bengal may justly be proud of the antiquity of her literature. These songs, moreover, furnish a land mark in the development of provincial dialects and their accurate time of composition will facilitate their study in a more precise manner.

¹ Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, II, p. 231.

III.—A dramatic production of the eighth century: The development of Modern

Swang.

By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.

The Kuṭṭanāī-Matam by Dāmodar Gupta, the Chief Minister of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir, written about 755-766 A. D. in 1059 āryā verses deserves to be studied in detail for the light it throws on the social conditions of India in the eighth century. The work is ably edited with a very good Sanskrit commentary of the modern type by the late Tanasukharām Mansukharām Tripāthi.

It would seem that the amours of Krishna were firmly established in traditions even of the eighth century.

किंवहिस बृथागर्वं प्रियोऽहमिति योषितां नराधीश। कांचन्तिस्र मुरारिं षोडशगीपी सहस्राणि॥ ७७३ Again in verse 860

> षण्सासः किं न वशे वैदग्धवतां च किं न धौरेयः। येन चकारासकिं गोविन्दो गोपदारेषू ।;८६०

Gambling appears to have been in vogue during the Holi festival as it is now in Northern India among the Hindus during the Diwali, for Dāmodar Gupta says that it is only by the presence of the veil or otherwise that it is possible to distinguish good women from bad ones, who are engaged in the game of dice and use the language appropriate to the occasion:

तुल्यव्यापारिगरांकनानां देवनप्रसत्तानाम्। आर्यानार्यावगमं बदनावृति जालिका कुरुते॥ ८६५

Students of Sanskrit have long known that the veil in India is not a Muslim innovation at all, but that it is at least as old as the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. It is however possible that the Muslim rule strengthened the rigours of the veil in some parts of India, though in Gujrat at any rate, which came under

Islamic subjection about the end of the 12th century, there was progressive emancipation of women till at the present day the women of Western India enjoy perhaps the greatest freedom among the women folk of India. The Maratha women do not appear to have observed the custom of the parda for many centuries, though for centuries Mahārāshtra the land of the Marāthās was under the sway of the Muslim power of the Tughlaks and later of the Bāhmani rulers of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmad-The fact is that the Musalmans have been unfairly accused of having established and supported the seclusion of The conception of equal freedom for both sexes is one of modern growth and in some ways, especially, in the recognition of women's status in the scheme of inheritance, the Muslim law was far in advance of any other law till recently, and is even now infinitely more just and equitable than the personal law of the Hindus: while the latter have been on the whole more progressive at least in recent times than the Musalmans in relaxing the rigours of the social system and in promoting the educational development of their women. Vadana averti jālikā which exactly corresponds to the word burkhā or the veil, was, as it is now, except in Western India, the privilege — the hallmark of the upper classes and the bourgeoisie.

The portion of the bock of particular interest to present-day students is the one dealing with the episode of the prince Samarabhaṭṭa, of Devarāshtra (modern Mahārāshtṛa), the son of Simhabhaṭa, who visited the famous shrine of Vishveshvara in Benares.* Here the prince met various classes of people, and when he inquired about the state of music, the Nṛṭyācharyā—the dance-master, 'replied: how can there be equality in the art of acting, where the leaders are calculating individuals, (विषय)

धृतवेचद्ग्डक् चंकपरिवे ष्टितसामिधेनुखङ्गश्च । मृदुतर्पटिका वरण : शब्दोल्बण्चुर्चु राङ्क्चर्गत्रः ॥ ७४२

^{*}The description of Samarabhata with a walking stick, a dagger, a dupatta and creaking shoes as given in V. 742 is rather interesting.

and the actors are disreputable women—the very home of guile and cunning?'

स उवाच ततो विधाजो नेतारीचयत्र, यत्र पात्राणि। शाख्यायतनं दास्यंस्तत्र कृतः सीष्ठवं नाट्ये॥ ७८४

It seems that Benares was famous as now for its courtezans, but as the dance-master pointed out:

चेतोऽन्तरा न सत्वं, सत्त्वे सति चाब्ता प्रयोगस्य।

वयमपि देवनिकेतनमनगंहर्षे गते त्रिदिवलोकम्। आत्रितवंतो गत्वा [सत्वा ?]† तीर्थखानानुरोधेनं॥

The implication is clear as to the decline of the arts since the death of the emperor Harsha in 648 A.D. The name Ananga-Harsha seems to have become current after the following verse from Ratnavali, Act I, as first pointed out by Professor K. H. Dhurva in 1915 in his introduction to Harsha's play—Priya darshanā.

चनंगोऽयमनंगत्वमच निदिष्यति ध्रुवध् । यदनैन न संधातः पाणिस्वर्धोत्सवस्तव ।!

^{*}The reading and: instead of and: is, as pointed out by Professor K. H. Dhurva is more snitable.

[†]C.f. verse 918 which is a paraphrase of this Verse.

ইনবো makes no sense. বীৰ্থ আনান্ বীয়ক is a better reading and more appropriate, as suggested to me by Professor K. H. Dhurva.

Mr. Tripathi has cited several parallels, such as धुमकालिद्। दोपशिष्ठाकालिद्। सातप्रभार्थि।

for Kalīdasā and Bhāravi-Bhatta Shrīkantha became famous as Bhavabhūti Shrīkantha.—The memories of Shri Harsha as the great patron of learning and arts and also as a dramatist of distinction seem to have been poignantly vivid to the Chief Minister of the King Jayāpīda of Kashmir.

The dance-master in order to terminate the argument between the prince's minister and the mother of one Manjari a pupil of his and a famous exponent of the part of Ratnavali, whether the association with concubines is preferable to that with courtezans, offers to give a performance of the first act of Harsha's well known play Ratnavali. The performance is described in verses numbers 880-928, and the description is of surpassing interest as the only extant one giving us detailed information regarding the representation of a play of the type of Ratnavali in ancient India. It should be noted that the entire troupe of the dance-master consists of women, two of whom are described by him. One of them is Manjari who is the heroine in the episode of Samarabhata and the other is unnamed who plays the rôle of the King Udayana in the play. The status of these danseuses is that of the ordinary courtezan. Devadāsīs would appear to have been a feature common to celebrated shrines in ancient India. When they disappeared except in the South is unknown, just as the history of the emancipation of the women from seclusion in Gujerat, Mahārashtra and some portions of the further South.

The subject-matter of the performance is the first act of Ratnāvalī by Shri Harsha, the summary of which is quoted below from Keith's Sanskrit Drama, pp. 171-172:

"The ubiquitous Yaugandharāyaṇa, insatiable in seeking his master's welfare, has planned marriage for him with the daughter of the King of Ceylon, but to attain his end has been difficult; to avoid vexing the queen Vāsavadattā, he has kept her in the dark, and has spread a rumour which he has had conveyed by Bābhravya, the king's chamberlain, of the death

of Vāsavadattā in a fire at Lāvāṇaka. The king of Ceylon then yields the hand of his daughter, and despatches her in the care of the chamberlain and his minister, Vasūbhuti to Vatsa, but, wrecked at sea, she is rescued by a merchant of Kausāmbī taken there, and handed over to Vāsavadattā who, seeing her beauty, decides to keep her from contact with her inconstant spouse. But fate is adverse; at the spring festival which she celebrates with Vatsa, Sāgarikā, as the princess is called from her rescue from the sea, appears in the queen's train; hastily sent away, she lingers concealed, watches the ceremony of the worship of the god Kāma, thinking Vatsa is the god in bodily presence, but is undeceived by the eulogy of the herald announcing the advent of evening."

It should be mentioned that the performance takes place within the precincts of a temple and though the provision of the orchestra राचते सकलातीचे is mentioned, there is no reference to any scenery whatsoever. The representation is introduced by singing accompanied by appropriate instruments as described in verses 381-381. The dance-master alone as Sütradhara appears to have sung the Dripadi and Dhruva, though it was permissible for a chorus to sing them. This musical opening or overture takes place before the benediction or $Nar{a}ndar{\imath}$ and seems to have been independent of the play proper in its literary and musical composition, for most plays hegin with the direction-' enters Sutradhara at the end of the benediction "नांद्यन्ते सूचधार: and even in plays such as, by Bhasa, the musical dvipadis and dhruvas are never described or incorporated in the body of the drama. The musical overture was perhaps generally in the nature of a chorus followed by the Sütradhara who introduced the real subject of representation. As Mr. Tripathi says (page 340), there were probably two Sütradhāras—one for the nāndī and the other for the story of the play. *

^{*} As Pro essor K. H. Dhruva first pointed out in 1909 in his Mudra-rakshasa पूर्वर गसूत्रधार and नोटकसूत्रधार।

The minister Yaugandharāyaṇa is introduced in 2 verses 885-6. He merely points to Vatsarāja going up the palace and departs. In verses 889-895 is described the motley crowd engaged in celebrating the Holi with colour syringes, gulāl and bad language, very much as at the present day. Then are introduced two servant girls—Madanikā and Chūtalatikā, going to the king with a message from the queen Vāsavadattā (896-903). The girls are a little drunk and let themselves go in a round of vigorous dancing. The king's companion, Vasantaka also joins in (904) with the permission of his master. In verses 910-919 is described the worship of the god of love by Vāsavadattā in the presence of the king with Sāgarikā in the background, unobserved. The close of the act is again signalised by the singing of the dhruvās signifying departure and by the playing of various instruments (928-9).

It will be seen from the brief analysis of the description above that the performance was more in the nature of an operette with plenty of music and dancing rather than a piece of dramatic representation, as we now understand it. From the description given by Dāmodar Gupta the performance of Ratnāvalī was not much removed from that of a modern Swāng such as Rāmalīlā acted annually during the Dasera festivals all over Northern India or that of a Bhavai occasionally seen in rural Gujerat, as pointed out by Mr. Tripathi on page 286.* The dance-master in fact says that he and his pupils have resorted to the temple as a matter of necessity and having become discouraged in the matter of seeking a livelihood (verse 801).

The comment of Samarabhata on the performance after ordering a suitable reward to the dance-master and wishing him to become a Thakur in course of time, also emphasizes the musical part of the entertainment. Both singing and accompaniment are praised. The singers are approved for their keeping correct time

^{*}The version of Rātnāvali in Kuṭṭanī-matam is in my opinion an actual acting version of Harsha's play and not merely a description of a regular performance of Harsha's play. Hence it is similar to *Bharai* where the actors have to improvise a version of some well-known story or play.

and singing with the proper Rasa-sentiment. THE TOTAL TOTAL AND THE TOTAL AND THE TOTAL AND THE TOTAL AND THE SINGLE CHANGES OF THE SINGLE OF

र्षाभरामाविश्रान्तं पठिते निरवद्यमिखलभाषास् । र्४३३

In these popular entertainments of Swang or bhawai one man, usually a Brahman recites the narrative part, while the other actors interpret the narrative by appropriate dance, music or gesticulation. There is no attempt at scenery and the performance usually takes place in the open. Much depends on the subject-matter of the entertainment, which must be generally familiar. Acting, as such, plays a rather subordinate rôle, for the subject-matter of the representation produces the necessary Stimmung in the audience by its very familiarity, as for instance in the case of the Rāma-līlā shows or the performances of Krishna-lilā from the Bhāgwata-purana. The celebrated Gitä-Govinda by Jayadeva is akin to the version of Ratnāvalī given by Damodar Gupta. Dance and song rather than acting formed the essence of such popular entertainments and we have described in Kuttani-matam the earliest prototype of the popular Swang or bhawai of the present day.* The one-act and one-actor Bhana which came into vogue after the 11th or 12th century is only a variety of these popular entertainments and there is now but little distinction between Bhands-comic actors and

^{*}ef Keith op.-cit page 273. The extraordinary development of dahcing is testified by the elaborate classification of it in Bharatas Nātyashāstra, chapter IV of 231 verses. Singing and acting were two of the most important elements of classical dancing, see pages 195-6. Nātyāshāstra. Vol. 1, Gaekwar oriental series.

the bhavaiyās, the strolling players. Thus our modern swāngs and bhavais trace their origins from a remote past. Their performances were highly developed and accompanied by proper music and dance as early as the eighth century. They derived their material from the epics and the Purāns—the lore of popular legends and adapted such splendid versions as of the Shrimad Bhāgwata in the case of the Krishna-līlā, of the Rāmāyaṇa for the Rāmalīlā and as seen in Kuṭṭanī-matam of Shri Harsha's Ratnāvalī for the exploits of perhaps one of the most popular heroes of ancient India—the king Udayana.

A work such as Kuṭṭanī-matam could only have been written in an atmosphere of extreme licentiousness—especially by the chief minister of a State. This is borne out also by the testimony of Rājatarangiṇī. Jayāpīda himself was a poet, but also addicted to the grosser pleasures of life. No wonder then, that his chief minister became famous as the author of the 'Advice of a Procuress'.

I should perhaps note in conclusion that the art of dramatic representation has not yet been really acclimatised in Northern India. The Hindi drama is a growth of the latter half of the 19th century, and even now there are no theatres for regular performances of dramas. The national entertainments are the annual Ramalilas and to a lesser extent the Krishnalilas, the frequent gatherings of poets—the mushāirās or kavi-sammelans and wrestling. Nowhere in India or perhaps anywhere in the world would people congregate in such numbers as in the United provinces to hear the recitations composed for the occasion by the authors themselves. The standard of critical judgment is unexpectedly high, as also the number of people who are capable of writing verses of merit. The audience instinctively understands the rules to be observed in an assemblage of poets and the patience and good humour displayed by it are really astonishing. The swangs and the mushairas are specially characteristic of the intellectual life of the masses in the north.

IV.—Account of Mubarak Shah, the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi

Kamal Krishna Basu, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur

Muiz ud duniya wa ud din Abu Fateh Mubárak Shah commonly known as Mubārak Shah, is the second in the line of the so-called Sayyads who ruled over Delhi after the anarchy that had lasted for a decade and a half. Of the four sovereigns who formed the Sayyad house that ruled for six and twenty years, Mubarak's reign was the longest. His personal ascendancy lasting for over thirteen years holds out no incident which is a departure from those connected with the rule of his father, the late Khizr khān. It is practically a replica of those of his father's—the recurrent rebellions and retributive campaigns forming the current coin of his administration.

In the first decade of the fifteenth century the territories of Delhi had been parcelled out into nineteen principal fiefs each under a feoffee: the monarchy became a congeries of merely independent principalities, jagirs and provinces. The creation of an imperium-in-imperio undermined the safety of the central authority and increased the centrifugal tendency. The aristocracy had attained power over the King who held his throne on a precarious tenure. Feelings of bitter jealousy and rivalry ran high in the country making it a cockpit of conflicts and quarrels. As a matter of fact, it was the individual and not the law that reigned. The friends or foes, the officials or otherwise, all alike made speed to feather their own nests, and were ever ready to strike the best bargain out of the situation.

In fairness to the zeal and integrity of the first two Sayyads, it may be said that, they made herculean efforts to settle down to work in that welter of anarchy and confusion. During his short tenure of office, Khizr with his characteristic energy shouldered his way to repeated though short lived conquests over his adversaries. Fierce and brave, kind and generous,

religious and confiding, Mubárak tried to heal the wounds left by the internal quarrels and internecine wars. Taking courage in both hands, he made a show of activity by his repeated attempts to stem the rising tide of sedition. The rebellions headed by Jasrath Khokhar and Tughan signalised the opening years of Mubarak's reign and made a presage of stormy weather The recrudescence of insurrection in the countries ahead. of the Doab, followed next in order by the animated opposition from Kampilah and Etawah, made the Sultán sick to his heart's centre. The armed resistance of Muhammad Khán, Governor Baváná, followed in its steps by the re-appearance of Jasrath and the revolt of Paulad aided by Malik Yusuf Sarup and Henu Bhatti, made things hot for the Sultán and added fresh chapters to the story of his troublous reign. was, thus, scarcely any event which seemed to accord with The appearance of the Governor of Kabul in aid his desire. of Paulad was another melancholy chapter in the history of Mubarak's reign; indulging in an orgy of indiscriminate bloodshed and murder, the invader struck terror into the heart of the Punjab, and for the nonce, brought the machinery of government to a standstill. Lacking, though, in the sternness and capacity of Balban, the ingenuity and statesmanship of 'Alau-d-din, or the genius and intellect of the ill-fated Muhammad bin Tughlik, Mubarak boldly attempted to vindicate the waning prestige of the Sultáns of Delhi.

Was Mubarak like Khizr merely an agent or a representative of Timur? Yahiya, the contemporary narrator of events, who waxes eloquent in praise of Mubarak, his patron, commits nothing to writing that gives the answer in the affirmative. In marked contrast to what he wrote in connection with Khizr whom he merely designated as Rayat-i-'álá, Yahiya makes use of a host of high-sounding phraseologies in honour of the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi.

The copper tokens issued by the Sultán between the years 833 H. to 837 H, or 1429 to 1433 A.D., carry on the obverse the words Shah Mubárak or Mubárak Shah Sultán included in

the middle of a circle, which on its exterior is to be seen either the expressions Ba hazrat Dehli or Sultán Zurbat, the latter meaning "struck by the Sultan"; on the reverse of these coins are inscribed the words, Naib-i-Amiru-l-Mauminin, i.e., deputy of the commander of the Faithful, referring to the acknowledgment of formal allegiance to the Khalifa of Egypt, a practise which came into vogue since the days of Muhammadbin-Tughlik who might have thought that "his sovereignty was in need of external confirmation of the Khalifáj". The expression Naib-i-Amiru-l-Mauminin has been in use on the reverse of the coins since the year 785 A. H., or 1383 A.D. Thus the coins issued in the reign of Mubárak go to show, that the Sultán wielded an independent authority of his own, rendering only a formal homage to the Khalifá of Egypt.

In the pages that follow, an attempt has been made to give in detail an account of the first six years of Mubárak's reign, and it is hoped that, the incidents connected with the remaining period of his rule will be narrated in the next issue of the Journal.

Accession of Mubarak Shah. 17th Jamadiu-lauwal, 824 A. H., May, 1421 A, D.*

Three days prior to his approaching death¹, on the 17th Jamadiu-l-auwal, 824 A. H.2 Khizr Khán3, May the blessing of God be on his tomb! nominated hi, worthy and P. 224. favourite son4 heir apparent, made him sit on the imperial throne with the approbation of all the Amirs

and Maliks. After the death of Khizr Khan, the people in

Firishta says " three days after his death ".

فرزند شایسته و خلف بایسته ۲

^{*} The page reference in the margin indicate the pageslof Yahiya's Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi.

هدر وایاد عالی حضرهای طلب ثراه قریب شده که از دار غرور بدار سرور بخر است. ² In Elliot (IV. 53), 19th Jamadiu-l-auwal; In Badaoni, 821 A. H.

^{*} The full name of the Sultan and the authors benediction upon him runs معزالدنيا والدين ابوالفكم مدارك شاة خلداليله ملة و سلطانة و على امرة و شانه-: thus allials etc., means, Eternal be his kingdom and sovereignty and most high be his command and dignity. Elliot has, "Sulta ni-i- azam wan Khudaigan-imu'azzam Mu'izzu-d-dunyá wau-d-din Mubárak Sháh.

general made a fresh acknowledgment of obedience (to the new successor). The Amírs and Maliks, the prelates and chiefs, the judges and all those who were given an office in the reign of the defunct Khizr, May he have a good resting place! were confirmed in their (respective) offices, fiefs, pergannas, villages, pensions and allotments: the new Sultan even increased them

Distribution of fiefs and emoluments to nobles and people. of his own accord. The fiefs in the districts of Hisar Firozah and Hansi² were taken from Málik Rajab Nádir, and entrusted to Malikus-stark Málik

Badah the Sultau's nephew. Málik Rajab obtained the fief of the district of Dipalpur. News now arrived that Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar and Tughan Rais had raised the standards of rebellion.

The cause of Túghán's resistance to anthority was, that

Rebellions of Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar and Tugan Rais.

2, 225

a year previous to this incident, in the month of Jamadi-ul-auwal, 823 A.H., (1420 A.D.) Sultan'Ali,6 King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatta⁷, had

on his way back been opposed by Jasrath, when the Sultan's army was driven pell-mell⁸, a portion being still in Thatta, and a part only came out.⁹ Incapable of sustaining the attack, it

aions", but as it gives no sense to the context, we have adopted Elliot.

² Hisar Firozah aud Hansi, in the Punjab; the former between Lat. 28° 36'—29° 49' and Long. 75° 16'—76° 22'. Hansi in Hisar Division.

[:] Firishta reads, Málik Badr : علك بدة إرادر زاده Badr :

⁴ Firishta says that Mālik Rajab obtained Dipalpeor and the Pusjab. Dipalpur, in Montogomery, district Punjab, Lat. 30° 37', Long 73° 38'.

⁵ The Khokhars (که کهر) sometimes written as (که) is a totally distinct race from the Gakhars: they style their chief as Rae as well as Sultan: Badanni, (289) says:—برين شيخا کهورو ته بري ته تهوکيرين شيخا کهورو ته بري ته تهوکيرين شيخا کهورو ته په بري تهديد کهوکيرين شيخا کهورو ته په بري تهديد کهوکيرين شيخا کهوکيرين کهوکيرين کهوکيرين کوکيرين کوک

⁶ In Firishta, Ally Shah.

⁷ Thatta or Tatta (Thato) in Karachi district, Sind, Bombay.

ت چسرت كهركر غافل ساغله درون كهائشي شكست دارد: Badauni says, دون كهائشي

[.] چيزې درول در و چيزي بيرول احمد . The Ms. reads

made a stampede: Sultán 'Alí was made captive and his baggage and provisions were plundered. Excited with victory and exultant at the strength of his battalion, an imprudent rustic that he was, Jasrath displayed (symptoms of) intoxication and fool-hardiness, and began cherishing imaginary visions of the conquest of Delhi.1 Being informed of the death of Khizr Khán², he went across the Biyáh (Beas) and Sutlej with a column of cavalry and infantry and fell upon Raí Kamálu-ddín Main at Talwandi.3 Rai Firoz was constrained to betake himself to the desert.4 Jasrath next ravaged the territory from Ludhiyana to Rupar⁵ on the Sutlej. A few days after, he crossed the Sutlej again and led his army to Jalandhar. Zirak Khán was invested in the fort of Jálandhar, and Jasrath having encamped on the bank of Bení,6 at a distance of three kurok from the town, made a false negotiation for peace.7 At length, agreement was arrived at between the contending parties on terms that, the fort was to be given up and left over under the care of Tughán,8. that Majlis-i-'álá Zirak Khán was to take a son of Tughán to the Sultán,9 and that Jasrath was to send an embassy (to His Majesty) and return home. Accordingly, on the 2nd Jamadiu-l-ákhir, 824 A.H., (June, 1421) Zírak Khán

جسرت مذكور مردي كرتاه إنديش و روستاي بود-: The Ms. is faulty. It runs برباد شه و مشتى (? مستى) حشرات (؟) (جسارت) كره خريش جمع دير ملخوليا دهلي در سر او افتاد -

بندكى رايات اعلى ـ 2

⁸ In Gujránwála, district Punjab, 45 M. N. of Lahore.

چول an error for جول 4

⁵ Ms. has, جدارر: Rupar, a subdivision of Ambàla, district Punjab: Between 30° 45' and 31° 13' N. and 76° 19' and 76° 44' E,

مىرستى In Elliot Beni : Badaoni has ; بيئي

صداكرة (؟) اصلاح درسيان اورد ؟

⁸ Firishta says, Jasrath appointed Tughan as the general-in-chief of his troops

يك نفر (؟) پسر طوغان صفكو برابركودة درحضرت يود ،Ms. has 🍨

emerged out of the fort of Jálandhar, and Jasrath with the

Jasrath imprisons Zirak, Governor of Jalandhar and besiege Sultan Shah at Sirbind.

whole of his entourage was ready (to receive him) on the banks of Bení. Approaching Zírak Khán, Jasrath broke the sanctity of contract, and under proper escort carried him off a prisoner

over Sutlej to Ludhiyana. Then on the 20th Jamadi-ul-akhir he left the place by successive marches for Sirhind, where he arrived in the middle of the rainy season. Malik Sultan Shah Lodi1 was besieged in the fort of Sirhind2, and although Jasrath put forth best efforts to take the fortress he failed, as God guarded it. 2. 227. When the statement of affairs supplem ented by a request for succour from Sultán Sháh Lodí reached the Sultán³, he left the city (Delhi) in spite of the rainy season in the month of Rajab, and made for Sirhind; with successive marches he reached Kohilá,5 near Sámána*, when Jasrath hearing of his advance raised the siege on the 27th Rajab and fell back to Ludhiyana. He released Zírak Khan6, who went to Sámána and joined the King. The Delhi army now advanced towards Ludhiyana, where Jasrath having forded the Sutlej encamped in front of the victorious army, (on the other bank of the river). As Jasrath had secured all the boats on the river, he retarded the progress of his adversaries across the stream. For forty days they fought with each other remaining posted in their respective places. But with the appearance of canopus the waters subsided, and the

¹ Firishta says, Islám Khán.

² Sirhind (or Fatehgarh), in Patiála State, Punjab, situated in 30° 38' N. and 76° 27' E. The spelling Sirhind is modern, and due to a fanciful derivation from Sir-hind, the "head of India" due to its strategic position. Sahrind is said to mean the "lion forest", but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sahir Rao. a ruler of Lahore, Imp. Gaz. Punjab. II. 309 et seq.

خدارند عالم پذاہ 8

The copyist has omitted the date by mistake.

⁵ Ms. has, کوهای: Elliot, Kohila: May be identified with mod. Koi or Khoi a village in Patiala State, Punjab, 48 miles south of Ludhiyana.

^{*} Sámána, in Patiala State, Punjab, 17 miles south-west of Patiala town.

Ms. has, ويرلخان ; Firishta is of opinion that Ziruk Khán contrived to effect his escape : Badauni states, جسرت زیرکشان راگذاشت ; 1 Res. J.

Sultan moved to Kabulpur. Jasrath, too, keeping himself to the river bank made a pari passu progress. On the 11th Shawwal (Oct. 8) His Majesty sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfá, Zīruk Khán¹, Mahmud Hasan², Malik Kálu, and other Amírs with P. 228, strong reinforcements to cross the river higher up at Rupar. They forded the river in the morning, and on the same day the King (with the main body of the army) advanced to the place where his avant-courier had crossed the stream before. Keeping himself to the river bank, Jasrath made a parallel move. When the tidings that the Imperialists had crossed the river reached him, Jasrath in a fit of nerve stationed himself at a distance of four kuroh from the ford. Crossing the river with his baggage and elephants, the Sultan approached the rebel, who without making any show of resistance took to his heels. The King's forces pursued the enemy closely, capturing all their equipage and slaying many a horse and footmen. Jasrath beat a hasty retreat towards Jalandhar with his brave cavalry, and on the day following he crossed the Biyah. At the advent of the victorious army near the Biyah, the fugitive ran precipitately towards the Ráví. In chase of the enemy, the Sultan crossed the Biyáh at the hase of the hills and reached the Ráví near Bhowá⁴. Jasrath crossed Jánháva⁵ and entered Tilhar⁶, situated in the mountains. Rái Bhim⁷, the chief of Jammu, was P.229 honoured with an interview by the Sultán⁸ and received the eminence of being appointed as (a Imperial) guide9. The Rái went across Jánháva, and the Royalists demolished Tilhar which was Jasrath's strongest place, imprisoning many of those

مجلس عالي زيرك خان 1

مرلك الشرق معمود هسن

⁸ Ms. has, وبا سواراس جرارة : Elliot has, " with some light horse"

بهوهر ,Ms. has

ق Ms. has, جانرهار; Badauni جانرهار; The river Chinab is meant.

In Ms. تَوْلِير, Tabakat-i-Akbari has Thankar; Badauni تَوْلِير; Firishta, Beosul. (mod. Bisauli, a town in Kashmir State, Punjab: situate on the Ravi).

ای بهیلم ,Ms, reads

بشرف هابيوس مشرف كشعه ال

ويشرا هده و

who had sought refuge there. Safely and securely laden with booty, the Sultan, then found his way to Lahore.

In the month of Muharram, A. H. 825, (Jany. 1421) the shade Reconstruction of of the blessed fortune and the shadow of Lahore by the the Imperial umbrella of the Sultán 1 fell its Sultan, and upon the deserted city of Lahore, which bestowal noon was bereft of any living soul, save the Mahmud Hasan. inauspicous owls which had made it their abode. After a time, the Sultan turned his attention to the restoration of the city2, and under his royal favour building was reconstructed. He stayed there encamped by the side of Ráví for nearly a month, engaged in repairing the fort and the gates. When the repair work was brought to a completion, the fief of Lahore was bestowed upon Mahmud Hasan, and a contingent of a thousand horses3 was placed under him. Having made suitable arrangements for the upkeep of the army and the fort His Majesty returned to Delhi.4

In Jamadi-ul-auwal⁵ of the aforesaid year, (825 A. H.)

Jasrath's advance Jasrath Shaikhá crossed the Jánhavá and against Lahore and the Ráví with a large body of infantry and cavalry and proceeding to Lahore encamp-

ed near the tomb of Saiku-l Mushaikh Shaikh Hasan Zanjání. On the 11th Jamádi-ul-ákhir, the two forces opposed each other in the mud fort(?). By the grace of God and the prosperity of the Emperor the refuge of the world, Jasrath was overthrown?. The triumphant army, in pursuit of the fugitives, issued out of the mud fort, but did not advance very far, so that the contestants kept to their respective position. Next day,

ساية همايون دولت وظل چترسلطنت خداوند عالم بذاه 1

بعد صدتی صعروم روی به ابادانی اروه "

³ In Elliot (IV. 56) 2,000 horses;

etc. پرده خود should he , پردو خود بدولت طرف دارالملك دهلي بار كشت 4

⁵ In Elliot Jamadi-ul ákhir.

[&]quot; مهر ميدون «باركا باد الغرر», The " happy city" of Lahore was called Mubarakabad after its restorer the Sultan.

بعد پذیم ماه جسرت ... لاهور در امور ... دایک ماه هر روز بقصد—sagauni (290) هر او Badauni (290) مردد پذیم مقصود ترسیده باز گشده

Jasrath sacked all those places1. Being powerless, 2 Jasrath ran towards the Ráví on the 16th of the aforesaid month, collected the wise men of the spot, and fell back one kuroh off Lahore. On the 21st of the month an engagement took place in the mud fort, when the Royalists came out victorious, and gave chase to the retiring force. Jasrath returned to his army.3 In this way did the battle continue outside the fort for a month and five days, but at last Jasrath losing P. 231. his heart made off towards Kálánor.4 Ráí Bhím, who had come to the fort of Kálánor for rendering aid to the royal forces, excited the enmity of Jasrath (against him), 5 and when the latter approached Kálánor, fighting went on between them but neither side could claim a victory: Ultimately peace, was declared in the month of Ramzán. Jasrath then retired to the banks of the Biyah in order to mobilise his forces from the Khokhars who had been friendly to him. Sikandar Tuhfá now arrived (from Delhi) with an innumerable army at the ford of Búhí 6 to join forces with Malik Mahmúd Hasan, who had been deputed before by the Emperor against Jasrath. Failing in constant persistence,7 Jasrath fled across the Ráví and Jánháva with his followers, and proceeded to the hills of Telhar.8 Maliku-sh-Shark Sikandar crossed the Biyah at the ford of Buhi, and on the 12th Shawwal, he arrived at Lahor. Malik Mahmud Hasan met him at a distance of three kuroh outside the fort.

Previous to this, Malik Rajab, Amír of Dípálpur,* Malik Sultán Sháh Lodi, Amír of Sirhind, and Rái Fíroz Mian joined

¹ Elliot reads, " Jasrath held his ground ". The Text runs-روز ديكر جسرتهة مذكور هما نجاتاخت

فرر نست 2

چسرتهه مذاور باز گشت هم در پرده خویش نزول کرد This line is not clear. It runs,

⁴ On the Kirrán, in the Guradaspur, district Punjab.

⁵ Jasrath attacked Rái Bhim for having betrayed his retreat to the King.

⁶ Badauni says Puhī (پرهې)

طاقت مقارست نبود 7

⁸ Badauni says Tilwárá.

^{*} Dipálpur (Dibálpur, Debálpur) in Montgomery, district Punjab, 30° 40' N, 78° 32' E, a place of historical importance, and identified by Cunningham with Daidala of Ptolemy.

Malik Sikandar. The victorious army (of Sikandar Tuhfá) proceeded along the Ráví, and forded that river between Kálánor and the town of Bhoh. On reaching the frontiers of Jammú they were joined by Rái Bhím. Afterwards some of the Khokhars who fell asunder from Jasrath at the bank of Janhává were worsted, and the royal army retraced their way to the happy city Mubárakábád. His Majesty issued firmáns 2 that. Maliku-sh-Shark Mahmud Hasan should go to the fief of Jálandhar, and having got ready 3 (his followers), should return and join him. Malik Sikandar 4 was entrusted with the civil administration of the auspicious city, and in obedience to the royal mandate, he proceeded with an army to the fort. The Emperor having recalled Mahmud Hasan and the other Amirs. removed Malik Sikandar from the vizirate and appointed Maliku-sh-Shark Sarwar-ul-Mulk in his stead as the governor of the city. The son of the latter succeeded him in the office of governor.

In the year 826, A.H. (A.D. 1423) His Majesty, the refuge of the world, drew up his forces and resolved upon marching against Hindustan. In Katehr, Rathore and Etawa.

The Sultan's expeditions against Hindustan. In the month of Muharram he entered the territory of Katehr, and exacted revenue

and taxes. Meanwhile, Muhábát Khán, Amír of Badáyun6 who

P 233.

Ms. reads

فرمان محالی همایون ^و

مستعد شده ⁸

ملك سكندر بتهائه شهر ميمون نكاهدارد 4

⁵ In the early Muhammadan period the tract now known as Rohilkhand or the Bareilly Division of the United Provinces, was called Katehr. It was named after their inhabitants, the Katehriyá Rajputs who, as the tribal traditions point out, came from Benares or Tirhoot, in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Badáyun or Badaun, is a district in the United Provinces. It became an important post in the northern boundary of the Sultanate of Delhi, and its governors were chosen from distinguished soldiers who had constantly to face revolts of the turbulent Katchriya Rajputs. Acc. to Firishta it was Muhabat Khán who had been entrusted with a commission against the tribe of Rathore Rajputs.

had been in great fear of the late Emperor, Khizr Khán¹ May his tomb be sanctified! was honoured with an interview and special favours. The Sultan then crossed the Ganges and ravaged the territory of the Rathors; putting a large number of the turbulent infidels to the sword. For sometime the Imperialists encamped on the Ganges, and then His Majesty left Mubáraz, Zirak Khán and Kamál Khán with a detachment at the fort of Kampila 3 to suppress the Rathors. The son of Ráí Sabír who had joined His Majesty, and had moved about in his suite, now took alarm and went off. Khair-ud-dín Khán 4 was sent after him with a vast army, but he failed to overtake the refugee. Khair-ud-din, however, laid waste the territory (of the Rái) and descended upon Etawah. The Sultan, too, with successive marches led his army to Etawah, where the turbulent infidel had thrown himself into the fort. The son of Ráí Sabīr being worn out submitted at last, and promised to pay him as of old revenue, and also to render him services.⁵ P 234 The Sultan returned victorious to Delhi in Jamadi-ul-akhir, 826 A.H. From Jálandhar came Malik Mahmud Hasan with a large body of followers to wait upon His Majesty, and he was received with great distinction. The office of 'Ariz Mamalike was taken from Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khán and given to Mahmud Hasan. Worthy, righteous and trustworthy, Mahmud Hasan assiduously took to the affairs of the State, and his dignity was

مهابت خان بدارني كد باحضر خان باغي شدة برد Badauni says, مهابت خان

در فواصي كهور عرف شيساباد واليت پذواران (? راتهوران) راتاخت Badauni writes

⁸ In Farukkhábád district, United Provinces, 27° 35′ N. 79° 14′ E. In Mahabharat, capital of South Panchals, under King Drupada.

ملك الشرق ملك خيرالدين خاني Ms. reads

⁵ Firishta says "the Rajas son was delivered as a hostage for his father's future good conduct into the kings' hands".

⁶ Ms. has عرض ممالت: 'Ariz Mamalik is the officer through whom petitions are presented to the Sultan: Elliot has "Pay Master of the Forces", Firishts, "Bukshy of the forces".

in the increase. In Jamádi-ul-awal of this same year, a battle

Battle between Jasrath and Rai Bhim; the latter slain. was fought between Jasrath and Rái Bhim, in which the latter was slain, and a large number of his horses and arms fell a prey to Jasrath. On ascertaining the death of the Rái, the victor united

a small force of the Mughals with his own¹, and sacked Dipálpur and Lahore. Malik Sikandar who was on the alert immediately ran after Jasrath, and the latter retreating crossed the Jánháva. Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Malik 'Alá-ul-Mulk, Amīr of Multán.

It was rumoured that, Shaikh 'Alí', the vice-regent of the

The invasion of Shaikh 'Ali, the Mughal.

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prince, the son of Sar 'atmash' was moving forward with a large army to make an incursion into Bhakkar 4 and Siwistán. To stem the tide of Mughal

invasion and suppress the outbreak, His Majesty placed the districts of Multan and Siwistán under the charge of Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, and sent him with a big army, and with all his family and dependents to Multan. Reaching Multan he restored order among the populace, and bestowed upon each of them suitable rewards, pensions and allowances. The people of the place preserved a tranquil mind and became happy; the inhabitants of the city and the country led a quiet and secure existence. Mahmud Hasan renovated the fortress at Multan that

ا بنفیش copyist's error for بنفیش: Firishta says "Jasrath formed an alliance with "Ameer Shaik Ally, a Mughal chieftain in the service of Sharokh Mirza, governor of Kabul."

هيم علي فايب امير زاده پسر سرعتمش-The Ms. runs

Jasrath raised an army of 12,000 Gukkurs.

^{*} Firishta is of opinion that Shaikh Ali was prevailed upon to make the incursion by way of creating a diversion, in order that, by drawing off the King's forces from the capital, for the defence of Sindh, his own views on Delhi might be facilitated.

Badauni makes no mention of Shaikh Ali's invasion.

⁴ In Dera Ismail, district Punjab: situated on the left bank of the Indus; Lat. 31° 37′ 48″, Long. 71° 5′ 52″,

had been damaged in the struggles with the Mughals, and assembled an army around him.

In the meantime news came to His Majesty that, Alb Khán, Amīr of Dhar had led his army to Gwalior. The Sultān hastened thither with a big army, and on his reaching the district of Bayána, the son of Auhad Khán², Amīr of Bayána

The Sultan proceeded to Gwalior against Alb Khan. who having assassinated Mubarak Khán his paternal uncle raised the banner of insurrection, laid waste the fort of P. Bayána, and retired to the brow. The

Emperor struck his camp at the base of the hill, and after a time, being hard pressed the rebel paid his revenue and tribute, and put his neck into the collar of obedience. The King then moved towards Gwalior against Alb Khán.† This chief

The unsuccessful revolt of the Amir of Bayana.

had secured the (usual) fords of the Chambal,³ and the royal army passed over the said stream by another (new) ford, Malik Mahmud Hasan and sundry

other nobles, and the Mewattis,4 and Nusrat Khán who were the

الب خان حاكم دهلي بقصد تنبية راي كواليار رعزم -: Badauni writes (291) :- الب خان حاكم دهلي بقصد تنبية واي كواليار وعزم Firishta calls him Sultan Hooshung of Malwa.

² Ameer Khán, the son of Wahid khán, governor of Bayána. (Firishta).

^{*} Bayána or Biána, in Bharatpur State, Rajputana and 50 miles sonthwest of Agra.

[†] Tabakat-i-Akbari has Alf Khán and Alaf Khán. Both are errorsifor Ulugh Khán.

البغان كنارة أب جيتك (P) كدرها كرفة، فررد اهدة بود -Ms. roads

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P, 237.

P. 238.

heads of the victorious army with their horse and foot,1 plundered the baggage of Alb Khán, and brought many of his men, horse and foot back as prisoners. Taking into account that both parties were Musalmans, His Majesty spared the prisoners' lives and set them free. Next day Alb Khán despatched envoys to make overtures to the King. Learning that Alb Khán was reduced to a state of weakness and compulsion. and disapproving any further design (of hostility) against his co-religionists, the Sultan consented to make peace on condition of Alb Khán sending in tribute and retiring from Gwalior. On the following day Alb Khán forwarded his gifts to the Emperor and turned his way towards Dhar. The King stationed himself for sometime on the banks of the Chambal. levying contributions upon the infidels according to old custom. after which he safely returned to his capital, laden with booty, in Rajab 827 A.H. (June 1423) and took to administration.

In the month of Muharram, 828 A. H,2 (November 1424)

Sultan's 2nd expeditions to Katchr and Mewat. the Sultan moved towards Katehr. When he reached the banks of the Ganges, Har Singh ⁸ joined the Sultan and was honoured with great compassion,

but as he had put off paying his quota of tribute for three years, he was detained for a few days...⁴. In short, the royal forces went across the Ganges, took the rebels of those parts to task, and continued their progress to the hills of Kumáyun. Here they halted for sometime, but when the weather became sultry they retired homewards along the banks of the Rahab.⁵ Crossing the Ganges near Kampil they made for Kanauj, but owing to a severe famine having broken out in the cities of Hindustán, the Imperialists moved no further.

يارة 1 an error for يارة 1:

[&]quot; Badauni says 827 A. H. سيم وعشوين و ثمانمايه

³ Firishta says Nursingh.

⁴ Here the Ms. is il legible, eaten up by worms.

اب رهپ Ms. reads

Informations relating to the insurrection of the Mewáttis reaching the Sultán, he set out with successive marches against Mewát, and carried fire and sword through their country. The Mewáttis deserted their country and took refuge in Jahra, their point-d'appui. This retreat being invulnerable and the provisions running short, the Sultān laden with booty, retired to his capital where he arrived in the month of Rajab. The Amírs and Máliks were permitted leave, and His Majesty abandoned himself to amusement and pleasure.

The following year, 829 A. H. (November 1425) the Sultan

Sultan's third expedition to Mewat: submission of Jallu and Kaddu. proceeded to Mewat, when Jallu and Kaddū,¹ grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, and several Mewattis who had co-operated with them having laid waste their own territories, retreated to the hills of

Andwar. After a seige lasting for several days when the Imperialists pressed hard, the beseiged evacuated Andwar and made off to the mountains of Alwar.² The Emperor levelled the fort of Andwar in the dust, and hastened to Alwar. On his approach, Jallu and Kaddū shut themselves in the fort, and the victorious army followed them.³

Being reduced to a state of deep depression, they begged for mercy and were granted with quarter. ** Subsequently, Kaddu

קלי, for Julal and Kuddur, to which "Khan" was usually suffixed. In Firishta we get Jullu and Kudroo. Badauni gives no name. The second should be omitted after قدر , فدر تعر ر نيستان بهادرناهر in the line قدر , as its existence would imply the existence of the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir other than Jallu and Kaddu.

² Alwar or Ulwar, in Rajputana, bet. lat. 27° 4′ 28° 13′ and long. 76° 7′ — 77° 14′.

The Ms. has — اسكر صنور و متراتر دهروه (؟) كرد Firishta is more precise when he says, "the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, and defended the passes with much obstinacy."

⁴ Tabakat-i-Akbari and Firishta relate that they (Jallu and Kaddu) were imprisoned.

^{*} In Elliot (pp. 62-63) the portions that follow have been taken from Tabakat-i-Akbari as the pages of the Ms. used by Elliot were lost at this place, But the Ms. which is at our disposal is here intact.

was exalted with the eminence of being permitted to kiss the feet (of His Majesty), but as he was on the point of running away towards the mountains he was captured and committed to custody. The powerful lord and the centre of the universe 1 ravaged Mewat, and for a time took up his quarters there, but owing to the outbreak of famine in that country he retraced his steps to Delhi where he arrived in the month of Sha'aban.

The Sultan to via Me-Bayana wat: submission Muhammad Khan: Bayana conferred upon Mukbil.

Next year, in Muharram, 830 A. H. the King proceeded to Bayana, and coerced the Mewattis on the way. Muhammad Khán, son of Auhad Khán Amír of Bayána, shut himself up in the fort. He destroyed the city, retired to the fortress situated on the summit of the mountains, and held out for sixteen

days2. On the 2nd Rabi'-ul-ákhir the royalist faced Muhammad Khán; accompanied by his numerous army and the notable veterans, the Sultan made an ascent on the hill by a pathway situated in its rear. Getting wind of this (incident), the son of Auhad Khán lost his power of resistance and went hors de combat inside the fortress.3 Discerning his rank unsteady and the fortress in confusion, Muhammad Khán gave up offering resistance and having come outside his strongholds with a turban round his neck kissed the dust.4 The Sultan, the centre of the universe and the just, promised him safety, the Khán (in return) offered whatever hard cash, valuable goods, arms, furnitures and cattle he had stored in the fort to the victor5 who remained there for a few days (more). By the order of the Sultan the family and dependants of Muhammad Khán were taken out of the fort,

خدایگان کیتی صدار 1

يقوت كرة بالشكر منصور صحابية ميكرد _ should be omitted from " كرة " كوة " The word " كوة

³ Firishta relates that owing to the desertion of part of the garrison, Muhammad Khán had to surrunder.

دست و پلی کم گرده بغروات دستار درکلر (ع) انداخته و پلی: از سر سلخته از دروس * برون امد بشرف خالبوس مشرف كشت

Firishta states, "with a rope about his neck (he) was led into the royal presence."

انته از جنس نقود و نفايس اسباب واسلحه و وحت و كاو درون قلعة: -The Ms. reads داهر برجه نعل بها (؟) اسپان لشكر منصور بش كزرانيد -

P.

despatched to Delhi and allowed to live in the palace of Jahán. P. 24 numah. The charge of the fief of Bayana was handed over to Mukbil Khán, a slave of the Sultán, and the viceregency of pergannah Sikril was vested on Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfa.

His Majesty then proceeded to Gwalior. On his arrival The Sultan the Rái of Gwalior, Bhangar² marched against Chandawar made their submission and Gwalior and ac. submis- paid tribute according to old rule. At cepted the desire of his friends the Sultan safely sion of its Rai. returned to Delhi, laden with booty and reached his palace in the month of Jamadi-ul-akhin3. He then, took the fief of Multan4 from Mahmud Hasan, giving him charge of Hisar Firozá and transferring Multan to Maliku-sh Shark Rajab Nádrah. Shortly after, Muhammad Khán seceded from the Sultan, and effected his escape to Mewat with his wife and children. Some of his attendants who had been dispersed rejoined him. It transpired that Malik Mukbil had set out with his whole force for Maháwan5, leaving Malik Khair-ud-dín Tuhfa in the fort and the Khittah of Bayana (empty of soldiers). Reposing trust in the inhabitants and the chiefs of (that) country,6 (Muhammad Khán) went to Bayána with a small force, when he was joined by the people of the khittah and the country. Subsequently, the fort (Bayana) capitulated and the soldiers that

Later became known as Fatehpur; now a district in the Allahabad Division, United Provinces, lying between 25° 25′ and 26° 16′ N. and 80° 14′ and 81° 20′ E. According to tradition, the Rájás of Argal held a large part of the district as tributaries of the Kanauj Kingdom before the Muhammadan conquest. Nothing definite is known of the history of the district during the early Muhammadan period when it formed a part of the Kingdom of Kora

³ Ms. has تہنگیر: Bhaugar may be identified with Bhangurh, in Ulwar State, Rajputana, 38 miles south-west from Ulwar. Lat. 27° 7', Long. 76° 22'.

In Elliot, Jamadi-ul-anwal.

The copyist has omitted "مالتاه "after" وتطاع ". The line would then اقطاع ملتان از ملك الشرق ملك معمرة حسن تعريل هذ Eead as

⁶ Mod. Mahaban, in Muttra, district United Provinces, near the left bank of the Jumna 27° 27' N. and 77° 45' E.

براعتماد (۲) سكان خطه و مقدمان ولايت ع

had been stationed there were withdrawn to Delhi. The Emperor' took Bayána from Malik Mukbil, and entrusted it to Malik Mubáriz with orders to suppress the rebellion of Muhammad Khán. At the advent of the Imperialists, the rebel retired into the fort, and Malick Mubáriz took possession of Bayána and its adjacent countries. Entrusting the defence of the place to some of his followers, Muhammad Khán ran away to join Sultán Ibráhim Sharki.² The Sultán summoned Malik Mubáriz to his presence to account for the escape of Muhammad Khán, and in the month of Muharram, 831 A. H, he ordered his army off to Bayana.

On the way, there came an epistle from Kádir Khán the

Sultan to against Kalpi Ibrahim Sharki.

ruler of Kalpi4, communicating the approach of Sharkí, at which the powerful lord and the centre of the universe made a change of front and went out to meet

It got wind that Sharkf having laid waste Bhunthe invader. Kánún⁵ was working his way to Badáyun The Sultan⁶ forded the Jaun (Jamuna) at Nuh-Patal, sacked Haroli7 and from thence he led his army to Atrolí8.

It now reached the ears of the Emperors that, Mukhtass

Advent of Khan Mukhtass and his defeat.

Khán, 10 brother of Sharkí had arrived at Etawah with a large contingent and numerous elephants. Upon this the King described form the main body Mahmud

Hasan11 with 10,000 brave and experienced horsemen and sent

243.

خداوند عالم 1

² Sharki was at that time advancing with an army against Kalpi.

we have adopted ملك مبارز واليزبواي مصلحتي (؟) درحضرت طلب شد-ms. runs

⁴ In Jálaun district United Provinces. Lat 26° 8' N. and Long. 79° 45' E.

⁵ Ms. reads. ببرس كانرس ; Badauni has ببرس كانرس ; Elliot Bhūkauū.

حضرت أعلى ٥

⁷ Ms. reads چرتولی; Badauni, جرتولی

In Aligarh, district United Provinces; Elliot's translation from Tabakat-i-Akbari here ends.

بندكى رايات إعلى 9

¹⁰ Elliot calls him Mokhlis khán;

ەلكەالشرق محبود ھىس ¹¹

him against Mukhtass Khán. Mahmud Hasan and his battalion descended upon the place where the army of Sharkī had pitched their camps. When the Khán was apprised of this news he fell back on his brother, but Mahmud Hasan halted there for sometime more with the object of making a night attack upon the adversaries. As the latter were on the look-out, he returned and rejoined the Delhi army. Sharki, too, advanced along the banks of Abi-siyáh to Burhanábád, in district Etawa. To meet his enemy, the Sultan evacuated Atroli and pitched his P 244 camp at Mabin Kotáh,2 where the belligerents remained only a short distance apart. Discerning the valour of the Emperor, and the strength and vastness of his army, Sharkí retired to Rapri³ in the month of Jamadi-ul awal. There he crossed the Jamuna at Gudrang⁴, and marching on towards Bayána, he encamped on the river of Katehr5. In pursuit of the retreating force, the powerful lord and the centre of the universe, crossed the Jamuna with successive marches at Chandawar and halted at a distance of four kuroh from the enemy. The vanguard of the Imperial army made constant raids upon their opponents, carrying off prisoners, cattle and baggage. This state of things continued for twenty days, the belligerents remaining at a short distance from each other. Drawing out his equipage, footmen and cavalry Sharki presented a bold front on the 17th Jamadiu-l ákhir.6 His Majesty, Maliku-sh-shark Sarwarul Mulk the vazir, Sayyadu-s-Sádát Sayyad Sálim and several other prominent chiefs remained in the camp in safety, while some others were

¹ Badauni has أب سياة عرف كالمي باني; Firishta, Kaly Nye, referring to Káli Nadi, properly Kálindi, a river in United Provinces, rising in Muzaffarnagar.

² Ms. has عابين کوته: Badauni simply کوته: Firishta Malykota; Tabakat-i-Akbari, Mali Koná and Elliot Páyīn Kotáh.

³ Firishta says Rabery Rápri, in Shikohábád tañsil of Mainpuri district, United Provinces has always been important as commanding one of the crossings of the Jumna.

ازرك Ms. reads

[:] أب كيتهر Badauni has اب كنتهر Ms.

⁶ Ms, reads, وه بقام ; Elliot has 17th : Firishta says 17th Jamad-us-sany.

sent against the enemy, such as, Maliku-s-shark Malik Mahmud Hassan, Khán-i-'Azam Fáth Khán, son of Sultán Muzaffar, Mazlis-i-'álá Zirak Khán, Maliku-s-shark Malik Sultán Sháh who received of late the title of Islám Khán, Malik Jaman, the grandson of Khán-i-Jahán, Malik Kálú Khanī master of elephants, Malik Ahmad Tuhfá and Malik Mukbil Khán. The action commenced at noon and continued till sun-down, and when night fell the combatants withdrew to their respective encampments. Neither side retreating, fighting continued till end2. There were many wounded on the side of Sharkī, so that when on the next day he saw the strength of the royal forces, he marched off towards the Jamuna. On the 17th Jamadi-ul ákhir he forded (the river) at Gudrang, made his way to Rápri and from thence retraced his steps to his own country. The Emperor pursued him to Gudrang, but the contending party being Muhammadan, he refrained himself from any further chase. He then took his way to Hath Kant,3 and after

The Sultan to Gwalior and Bayana. exacting customary tribute from the Ráí of Gwalior and the other Ráís, moved in the direction of Bayána along the course of the Chambal. Mahmud

Khán Auhadi who had befriended Sharkî, being frightened out of his wits shut himself up in the fortress situated at the summit of the hill. The Emperor laid seige to the fortress that was excessively lofty and most impregnable. Nevertheless it was due to the prosperity of His Majesty, the centre of the universe, that the low born tribe suffered losses and their vanity disappeared before the (royal) punishment; their hands were powerless against the assailants and their feet unable to flee. The seige, thus, continued for a week; at length they allowed

میان یکنیگر مقاتله و محاربه از —: The author here indulges in a verbose style 1 و الله الله و الله الله و الله الله و ال

³ Ms. reads استگانو: Badauni has هناوی: Firishta Hulkant : Elliot

باد عزور ایشان از آقش قهر لشکر منصور فرو نسشت ،Ms، has •

the invaders to claim the victory and sought for mercy. Full of clemency and pity for the Musalmans, the Sultan forebore to punish Muhammad Khan and granted him forgiveness; firmans were issued to the soldiery ordering them to evacuate the fort.

P. 24

On the 26th Rajáb, His Majesty marched out with his attendants and went off towards Mewat. The Sultan to Mewat. He remained there for sometime to set in order the wasted city, and with a view to the administration and upkeep of the district of Bayána he appointed as its governor Malik Mahmud Hasan, who had exhibited bravery and loyalty in the government and the defence of the frontiers, and was successful in the accomplishment of many great duties. He had, thus, signalised the opening years of the Sultan's rule1 by waging a war against Jasrath Khokhar; (again) when he held the command at Lahore he had made a stand against the prince-deputy of the Sultan of Khorassan,2 and hindered him from making an ingress to Multan. He was now appointed as the commandant of the fort of Bayana with its adjoining territories. The itka' of Bayana and all its dependencies were placed under his control.

At the desire of his well-wishers His Majesty worked home-The Sultan's wards along the bank of the Jaun return to Delhi. (Jamuna), and reaching the capital on the 15th Sha'aban 831 A. H., (May 29, 1427 A.D.) took up his residence in Sírí. Then he bade farewell to the Amira and Maliks to their fiefs, and gave himself up to pleasure and merry-making.

چنانچه در مدران جلوس با جسرتهه . The text is faulty

مدراء جلوس should be صبران جلوس: هيندا صحاربه كردة

ا شيخ زاده نايب شاهزاده غراسان We have adopted Elliot: The personage referred to is the general of Shah Rukh.

V.—Cup-marked Stones near Rajgir (with Plates.)

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph. D. (Oxon.)

In December 1916, Mr. Jackson was walking from Pātharkāṭi to Rājgīr. He had gone to Pātharkāṭi to verify the following description by Buchanan in, his Patna-Gaya Journal under the date 23rd November, 1811-12¹:

"Having examined these I visited the quarry on the hill called Jerra or Paterkati, situated about a mile southwesterly from Baliya. It is also very rugged, and consists in a great measure of granite, but its southern end is chiefly of the hornblende kind. The greater part is black potstone with a fine grain, and is so much impregnated with silicious hornstone that it has a conchoidal fracture2. It is very hard and [is] used for making pestles and mortars. It is called merely Kalaputur or black stone. There is however a very fine quarry of [horneblende] consisting of large crystals,4 which is called Vishnupodi, because it was employed to erect the temple of that name at Gaya, and the workmen were brought from Jaynagar on purpose. There is no demand for this stone now, and the workmen are reduced to live by making cups, plates, etc. of the potstone, and mortar and pestles of that impregnated with silicious matter. Very fine masses of the pure hornblende may be procured, the silicious potstone is more intersected by fissures. The tradition at the quarry is that it was first wrought by Harchand Rajah, who built Rotas and dug the caves of Burabar, etc., and who finding

Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Journal, edited by Jackson, 1925, pp. 23-4.

² Black potstone (kalapathar), hornstone impregnated with hornblende; Jackson, *ibid*, p. 190.

^a Rock intermediate between granite and hornstone, ibid, p. 191.

^{*} Hornblende, very fine, crystals large and distinct, does not take a fine polish: ibid, p. 195.

⁶ Asoka does not claim to have excavated the caves but to have simply bestowed hem on the Ajīvikas (dinā); cf. Hultzsch, C. I. I., vol. 1, 1925, pp. 181-2.

the materials too hard desisted and sent his workmen to Alura (Ellora) in the south, where he dug very great works in the rocks."

From Pātharkāṭi to Rājgīr, the distance is about 13 miles, from south-west to north-east. Mr. Jackson was proceeding across fields. About eight miles from Rājgīr, at the foot of its south-western ridge,¹ near a place now called Mokhtargarh,² he noticed thousands of stones of a peculiar size and shape lying on the surface or half-buried in the ground. They were roughly conical, about 2 feet in width and ½ feet in length with cup-like depressions artifically fashioned on 5, 6, sometimes 8 flat corners.³ The stone is black gneiss, like that used at Pātharkāṭi and resembling that of the Barabar hills. Both the colour and the grain were markedly different from the living rock of Rājgīr, both of the neighbouring ridge and the main chain. It was getting dark and Mr. Jackson had no further opportunity of a closer inspection. An added difficulty lay in the inaccessibility of the spot except on foot.

In November 1926, I led a trip of the Archæological and Historical Society of the Patna College, on foot from Islampur to Rājgīr. Following a zig-zag course across fields, we covered about 65 miles in 5 days. Our route was Islampur—Keur—Pātharkāṭi—Jeṭhiān—Rājgīr.⁴ I was specially instructed by Mr. Jackson, to look up the cup-marked stones and photograph them. There they lay near Mokhtargarh to the south and Natesa to the west—cf. the Bihar and Orissa District Maps, district of Patna, 1910, sheets 5 no. 85 D.5. To the east was the ridge of Rājgīr leading to the Jeṭhiān valley. The stones lay over more than an acre of ground, about two furlongs from the nearest spur of the ridge. Examining the locality

ALM: 1

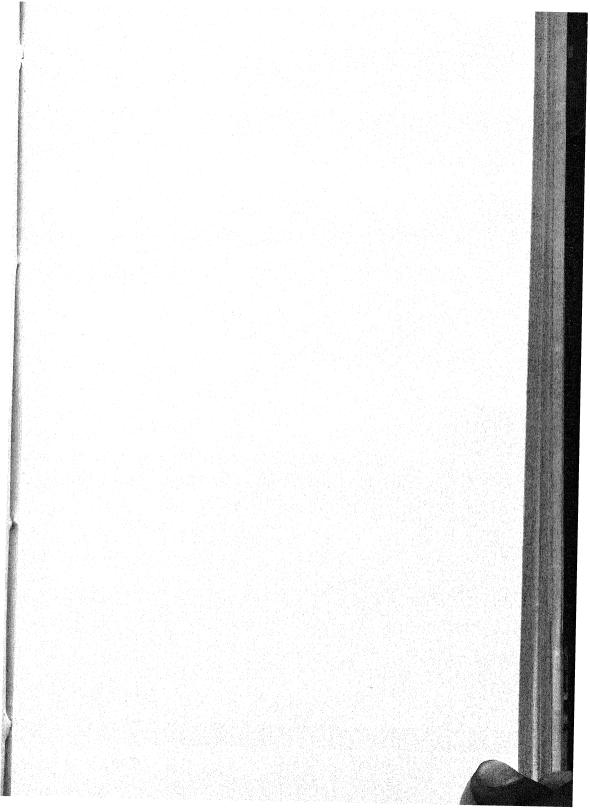
¹ Due north from the Jethian Valley.

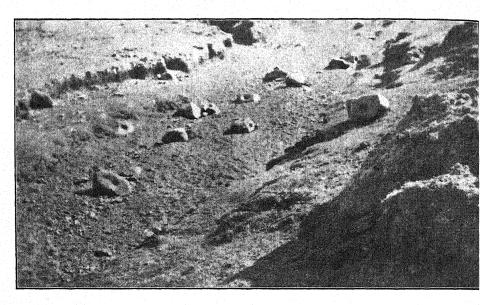
A recent name after the owner, a Mokhtiar from Gaya.

⁸ Sometimes also in the middle or the sides, cf. plates.

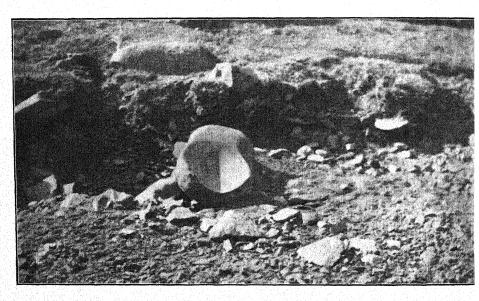
^{*} The whole connected area is full of remains of successive civilisations hardly noticed by anyone after Buchanan.

⁵ Survey maps, Bihar and Orissa, 1905-10. District of Patna.

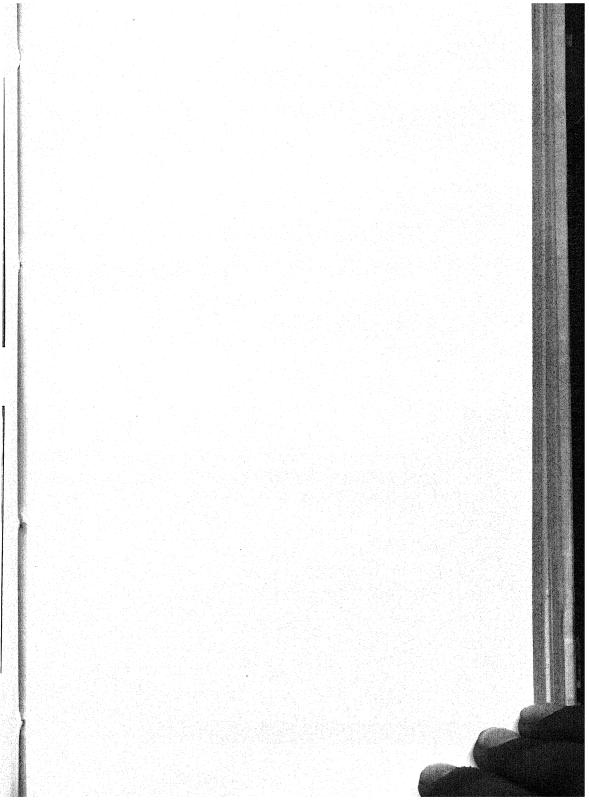


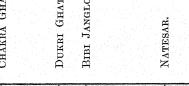


3. CUP-MARKED STONES IN WATER-COURSE.

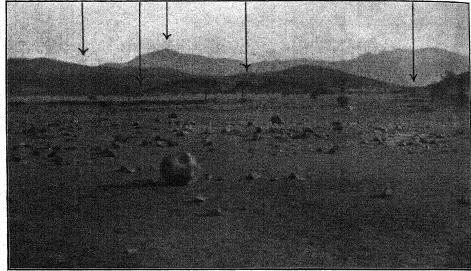


4. STONE IN WATER-COURSE SHOWING LONG GROOVE. (THE LINE ALONG CENTRE IS ONLY EDGE OF SHADOW.)

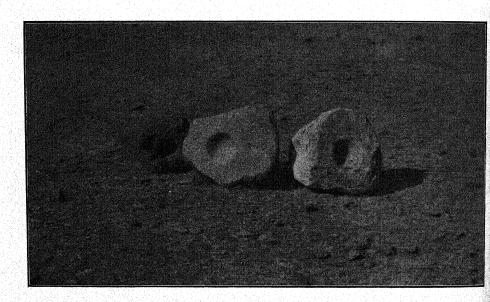








1. SITE OF SOBHANPUR, LOOKING S.E.



2. CUP-MARKED STONES NEAR BUCHANAN'S DUKRIGHAT.

further west I discovered a waterway and at a distance of another furlong, remarkable remains of an old settlement.1 It consists of regular lines of stones showing the foundations and walls of buildings, all lying in clearly-marked rows, of rooms large and small, outer walls as well as inner passages. The size and arrangement of rooms and passages as well as the type of undressed stones used, are strongly reminiscent of the ruins of the pre-historic town of old Raigir 2 inside the valley. This discovery roused the curiosity of Mr. Jackson and we both returned to Rajgir in December, 1926, prepared for a longer stav and visited the spot again. Mr. Jackson took some photographs of the cup-marked stones in situ, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plates. We measured and sketched the settlement-the outer walls lengthwise 220 feet, 209 feet wide : five large rooms at either end arranged lengthwise and six smaller ones in the middle: a parallel row of rooms east to west and a passage running the whole distance about 12 feet broad.3 It is on an elevated piece of hard ground, surrounded on three sides, west, south and north, by adjoining paddy fields. To the north, it is connected with the acre bearing the cupmarked stones, the intervening space being of a rocky soil, through which passes a waterway to-day evidently fed by rain water down the sides of the hills. Further north it touches the nearest spur and higher on, the ridge. Thus the whole space from the ridge to the settlement covering about five acres

¹ These stones, unlike the cup-marked stones, were evidently procured locally from the neighbouring ridge.

² Jackson, Archæol. Surv. Ind. Rep. 1918-14, pp. 265-71.

s For the arrangement of rooms passages, etc., and the general nature of the settlement ruins inside the valley, cf. the excellent plan prepared by Jackson, A.S.R., *Ibid.*, p. 267. The earlier strata are clearly distinguishable from the later ones, themselves fairly ancient, by following old roads, cutting across older foundations. It should be remembered that nothing but surface explorations has yet been attempted at Rājgīr. The undressed stones may not be of the earliest epoch; cf. Ferry, The children of the Sun, p. 93: "When the archaic civilisation broke up, not only were irrigation, stone-working and image-carving given up, but metal-working and mining were abandoned, and the land often given over to people who cared for none of these things."

is one continuation. Its rambling nature may be accounted for partly by the removal of cup-marked stones, once spread more symetrically. In a village named Sherpur, just to the southwest of the settlement we inspected a big well which had used up at least 500 of these stones and we were informed that neighbouring villages had also utilised them in the same way and some contractors had carted away thousands of them. We got into the waterway and unearthed some potteries which clearly showed previous habitations at a depth of 5 feet and possibly lower down. We searched the whole locality for any other piece of dressed or artificial stone and discovered a solitary broken pestle, rather small about five inches in length and 2 inches in width. We spent another day 2 in examining the neighbouring ridge for any vein of gold or remains or proof of gold-working at any time, for reasons given below. We found no such sign.

Later, with the help of the local landlord, we had three specimens of the cup-marked stones searted direct to Patna. Two of them are now exhibited in the Patna Museum and the third is in the compound of the Principal of the Patna College.

What were these stones used for and who brought them there? We had a long discussion on the spot and later on in our tent far into the night.

Mr. Jackson was a scientist and suspicious of theories. Yet he admitted that a collection of facts was no more a science than a heap of stones could be called a house, and that a house was infinitely more useful and more agreeable than a heap of stones. As Bacon said, science is possible only on generalities. In a quest after the unknown, it is better to have an imperfect plan than no plan at all. In science, a hypothesis has always, even when false, the advantage of suggesting

¹ More damage to ancient Indian ruins has been done by these contractors and house-builders in ceaselessly removing and disposing of apparently unclaimed materials than by temporary vandalism of invaders and fanatics.

² The search was seriously hampered by a dense jungle which we could not penetrate at places. We however noticed a distinctive reddish tinge in the gravel.

^{*} They weigh between three to four maunds each. The more regular ones were naturally taken away for use in wells and structures.

researches and experiments, even though subsequently destroyed by these very researches and experiments, according to the inverse realization of the legend of Ugolin. Every good theory is a coaqulum of logical thought and certain number of known facts. We then proceeded to think out the facts concerning the cup-marked stones.

- (a) None in the neighbouring villages of Kamalpur, Natesar and Mckhtargarh had any idea about the origin of the stones, except that they lay there from time immemorial. Two of the oldest inhabitants of Natesar were slightly more definite about the deserted stone settlement. It was equally ancient, but associated with the name of king Rohtas, and formerly known as Suvan-pur. Suvanpur means a city of, or connected with, gold. It would suggest a settlement once occupied in gold-working.
- (b) The neighbouring ridge joins the Sona-giri. Sona-giri means the rock containing gold. There is no shrine on this hill and yet important roads connected it on one side with the cup-marked stones area leading on to Jethian and on the other to the Son-Bhandar cave. The south wall is the highest. It often rises 30-40 feet above the level of the valley inside. Through three well-marked gaps run three ancient roads. The pilgrims road from Sona-gari to the Son-Bhandar cave now passes through one2 probably representing a southwest gate leading towards Jethian. Near the middle is another gap representing the principal gate of the city on the south. The third road can be traced from the Bauganga opening in the hills, turning to the west round a spur of Sona-giri, cutting through it for some distance and then turning sharply to enter the old city. The west wall, as far as the Son Bhāndār cave, has disappeared owing to the branch of the Sarasvatī stream which runs from the south.
- (e) Thus the Son-Bhāndār cave had the peculiarity of being connected with the cup-marked stones area by easy roads

¹ Marshall, A.S.R., 1905-06, pp. 86-106.

² Jackson, A.S.R. 1913-14, pp. 268-9.

and of having a stream close by-necessary for both gold-digging and gold-washing. Son-Bhāṇḍār means the store of gold. Many unsavoury stories are still current as regards the evil effects of this persistent tradition. Some latter-day gold-seeker is said to have used dynamite and blown up the cave and thus made the left-hand side window-like aperture.2 More significant still is the dark passage to the right-hand top (higher up) of the passages which is claimed to reach the outer side, right through the interior of the solid rock. Even Beglar's cave with seven chambers4 (Sattapanni), later discredited as imaginary,5 begins to acquire a new meaning. The Rajpind cave in Jethian is credited with another such interior passage running right across the whole southern wall, vouchsafed by Hiuen-Tsiang himself.6 These passages remind one of Kunz's 7 description of gold-working in North American mountains specially several caves in the mountain of the Pueblo region recently unearthed. "The wonder caves are about 25 ft. from the surface and run 100 ft. from the apex of the mountain, being about 30 by 25 ft. in width, and from 6 to 8 ft. in height about the debris... Here were found numerous veins of turquoise from 1 in. to 2 in. in thickness and strips of gold-bearing quartz cover the walls of the central cave. It is presumed that further explorations would bring to light openings through these walls, showing that the entire mountain was honeycombed by the ancients..."7 Quartz veins were worked for gold in the

¹ Mr. Russell discovered, in 1913, another cave contiguous to the Son-Bhāṇḍār and to its north. It is of the same design, and only part of the top arch of the inner wall is visible. The rest has fallen down and lies buried under rubbish and shrubs. It is said to have been damaged by some gold-seeker.

Buchanan mistakenly thought it to be a part of the original plan, Jackson's Buchanan, ibid, p. 137. An examination of the line from the top of the door to the top of this window and the hacked patches do not support this view.

^{*} The passage can be negotiated on all fours for about 15 yards.

^{*} Beglar, A.S.R. (Cunningham).

Marshall, A.S.R., 1905-06, pp. 86-106.

Beal, Records of the Western World, vol. II, p. 149.

¹ Kunz, Gems and Precious Stones of North America, 1, 56-6.

same district. Lock attests the same phenomenon in the gold-bearing mountains known as Los Cerillos.

(d) The distribution of gold-bearing areas in India is relevant and suggestive. Geologists have so far devoted more attention to river-gold than to rock-gold. Almost every province in India possesses these gold streams.2 Ball3 refers to Walker's testimony that washing had been carried on comparatively recently in the streams which feed the Godavari from the South. He himself learnt that all the rivers of the Punjab, the Ravi alone excepted, contained cuneiferous sands.....the rivers and streams as a general rule contained gold.4 Watt5 notices the most striking feature of the gold deposits of the Assam valley as the universal distribution of the metal in extremely small percentages throughout the gravel of the river beds. Bloxam6 describes the process of extraction. The high specific gravity of gold being 19.3, it is left behind while the sand with a sp. gr. 2.6 is carried away by water. Wooden or metal bowls wherein sand is shaken up with water by hand, pouring off the light portions, leaving the grains of gold at the bottom of the vessel are the ordinary implements of this alluvial-washing or placer-digging.7

In his interesting sketch of the search for gold and pearls of a highly civilised archaic people and its relics among their degraded descendents, Perry⁸ notices the selected and prospected gold-producing tracts in India. His map ⁹ recording gold in Chota Nagpur (Singhbhum, Dhalbhum, Manbhum) up to Hazaribagh is not exhaustive, so far as rock-gold is concerned. It is partly due to present-day indifference to any

¹ Lock, Gold, 179.

² Roscoe, Chemistry, vol. II, p. 388.

Ball, Geology of India, III, p. 188.

⁴ Ibid, p. 209.

^{*} Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 566.

Bloxam, Inorganic Chemistry, p. 404.

⁷ Contrast the method applied in the Tvi valley in Pahang : Man, 1904, 84.

Perry, The Children of the Sun, pp. 86-93.

^{*} Ibid., p. 90.

method except that of washing. Says Ball 1 - Gold-washing as practised in India, affords an example, I believe, of human degradation. The colonies of washers who are found plying their trade in most of the areas where, geologically speaking, the occurrence of gold is possible, must be regarded as the remnants of a people possessing special knowledge; for although the former may have some acquaintance with the appearance of the rocks in the neighbourhood of which gold occurs, so far as I could ascertain from a close examination of the operations of two gold-washers who were in my service for about three months, such acquaintance, if possessed, is rarely availed of. Indeed, I doubt if they ever look upon the rock as being really the source from whence the gold has been derived ... But it cannot always have been so, for their earliest progenitors must have ascertained the existence of the gold by the application of experimental research in localities where, from theoretical considerations, they believed it to exist." 2 The occurrence of gold in the sands and alluvial soil obvious to the eye ensures the retention of old river-names like Suvan-rekhā or "Streak of gold" whereas the names of gold-bearing rocks like Suvarņa-giri (now Maski, cf. Asoka inser.) in the Nizam's Dominions in the South or Ratnagiri Mudgagiri (present Monghyr) have changed or become obscure. Son-giri and adjoining Suvan-pur seem to have suffered a similar fate.

¹ Perry, op. cit., p. 90.

It would be pure speculation at this stage, to guess who were the exponents of this archaic civilisation. Yet it is more than mere coincidence that the Asuras are generally closely associated with gold in ancient literature, cf. the golden city of Lankā of Rāvaṇa, cf. also the almost invariable Asura nomenclature with hirasya (gold) in the Mahābhārata: Hiraṇyakasipu, Mbh. Ā. 66. 17: Hiraṇyadhanu, MBh. Ā. 142. 40: Hiraṇyabāhu, MBh. Ā. 57. 6: Hiraṇyahasta, MBh. Sā. 240. 35: Hiraṇyakṣa, MBh. Sā. 208. 10: Hiraṇyapura, MBh. k. 100. 1. The Pre-Vedic Indus civilisation at Mahenjo-Daro has revealed the use of gold in extenso (Marshall, Illustr. Times of India, 1928, March). The Vedic Āryans found gold already in varied use, more so than silver (C. H.I., I. 101). Pre-Vedic India—cum Asura-cum gold is

(e) Mr. Jackson once met an Australian gold expert staying at the Rājgīr Inspection Bungalow. He had prospected for an Australian company, but the terms of the zamindar were unacceptable and he left.

- (f) The traditional mortar and pestle industry of Pātharkāti reported by Buchanan 1 and remembered to-day, once evidently supplied the needs of the Suvan-pur establishment. Even in Buchanan's time, the Pātharkāti works had no apparent raison d'être. It is intelligible only as a link in the Son-giri—Suvanpur—Son-Bhāndār chain of goldworks. We searched in vain for any stray pestle lying about. Its absence is easily explicable: (i) some might be lying underground and concealed from view, (ii) due to their small and handy size, neighbouring villagers might be picking them up and removing them all these years. It has been stated above, that even the big cupmarked stones are no longer safe and may disappear after another 10 years— a lesson to those who fondly procrastinate over the fancied changelessness of eastern, specially Indian, landmarks.
- (g) But all the above association of place-names and past industries must be based on the real nature of these stones with the cup-like hollows. Their use in gold working is the only plausible hypothesis from a comparison with similar finds elsewhere where the remains of old metallurgical appliances are still available for verification. The following quotation from the paper of Major Munn, Inspector of Mines to the Nizam of Hyderabad (1918) is highly suggestive, specially in view of the fact that in Hyderabad the very memory of these ancient mines and all extraction of gold, is entirely lost, even in folklore. "It was, in fact, not until 1888 that these old gold mines were rediscovered, and the early efforts of the explorer were watched with intense ridicule by the local Brahmin—who never had had clear proof

¹ Sunra.

³ Munn, Ancient Mines and Megaliths in Hyderabad, Mem. Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc. 54, 1921, 5-7.

of the Sahib's madness. The difficulty which attended this prospecting was accentuated by the fact that all the workings had been completely filled up and practically obliterated by the so-called black cotton soil, an alluvial resulting from the decomposition of the Deccan Trap. So that the surface indications were most deluding, and consisted of typical auriferous blue quartz, and the remains of old metallurgical appliances on the adjacent hard trappoid reck. Everywhere cup-like hollows, undoubtedly nothing but small mortars found in the rock1 where the gold quartz was pounded with stone pestles, and occasionally small crucibles have been found which, on crushing, gave an assay for gold.2...The development of the mine at Hutti must have taken a considerable period and employed a great number of people, not only in the actual mining, but in the crushing of the resulting ore."

A self :

¹ Here separate blocks of stones had been fashioned to serve the purpose of the gold-crushers, due partly to the comparatively softer texture of the possible gold-bearing ridge, partly to more extensive operations as attested by the large settlement of gold-workers at Suvanpur.

² Munn, op. cit., 5.

³ Ibid, 6-7.

VI.—Historical data in the Garga-Samhita and the Brahmin Empire.

By K. P. Jayaswal.
Materials.

- 1. In the course of my studies on the Brahmin Empire I took up the historical chapter of the Garga-Samhitā, entitled the Yuga-purāṇa or "the History of the Yugas." I made a search for a better manuscript than the one which was before Dr. Kern, to whom we owe the first notice of the historical chapter and some valuable facts therein. My results based on a manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal were published in 1914 as a part of the "Notes on the Brahmin Empire." Since then I recovered another manuscript, but a third one could not be traced in spite of attempts extending over fifteen years. The book has become extremely rare.
- 2. The present study and the text published below depend on the following materials. In the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there are two manuscripts with the name of the work. But only one of them is the treatise on Jyotisa with which we are concerned, the other one having nothing to do with the subject. MS. 20 D. I. bearing the seal of the College of Fort William with the English date 1825 is superior to the manuscript in the possession of Dr. Kern in being complete, while Kern's copy was fragmentary. The Asiatic Society's manuscript has one hundred and sixty folios. The title-page bears the title Garga-Samhita. while the colophons to the chapters describe the book as Gargiya Jyotisa. In some places Vrddha is added before Garga, e.g., at folio 90. Up to folio 176 the marginal title is nite. and thenceforward (whence another copyist starts) the abbreviation and so is used. The text is not much better than that of Kern's manuscript, but it is helpful in many instances as will be seen presently.

Byhatsamhitä of Varäha-Mihira, Bibliotheca Indica, 1864-65, Introduction, pp. 32-40.

² Ropress Patna, 1914.

3. Two copies of the work are in the Government Sanskrit College at Benares. One of them (no. 123) is fragmentary containing only 45 folios; it does not reach the Yuga-purāṇa section. But the other (no. 122) is complete except for folios 67 and 68. The MS. is on paper and the Yuga-purāṇa chapter begins at folio 93, the general discussion about past and present history being at folio 92. The MS. generally gives better readings than the other two materials, yet it is not correct. The book is described Vradha-Garga-virachita-Jyotisa-Samhitā, with marginal title IIII 1

Characteristics of the text.

4. The text bears unmistakable traces of Prakritisms, and it seems that the original was either in pure Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is due to this linguistic feature that we have such an unsatisfactory text. Prakritisms in the text have been noted below. It seems that a text thoroughly correct, from the Sanskrit point of view, is not to be expected.

5. The author had before him some faithful historical chronicle, a matter-of-fact narrative, on which he drew. It was a record of the Imperial Magadha, coming down to the break-up of the Sunga Empire by the advent of the Sakas, and the preceding weakness brought about by the Indo-Greeks. It is noteworthy that this is the only Hindu record which preserves an account of the invasion and retirement of the Indo-Greeks on and from Magadha. Further, this is the only record, except the coins, of several Indo-Greek rulers. It is also noteworthy that the rule of the Sakas on the river Siprā is specially noticed in the accounts. The chronicler found the Sakas ruling, for he closes with a gloomy outlook and does not know the revivalist dynasties of Hindu independence who contended against the Sakas or who wiped them out.

6. Its traditions are distinctly independent of the Purāṇas and details are unique and of the highest importance.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Peona, has one MS. (no. 542 of 1895-1902) dated Samvat 1881. But unfortunately it contains only the beginning of the chapter (fols. 198-194); five leaves (195-199) which covered our text are missing.

Date of the work.

7. The work has been quoted by Varahamihira about 500 A.C. as an established authority. Its giving prominence to the Sakas and its knowledge of them as the last rulers, with realistic details, and its ignorance of the Andhras (generally), the Abhīras, the Guptas etc., place it earlier than all the known Purāṇas as we have them. These features, on the line of the argument now accepted for determining the date of the Purāṇas, would indicate the latter half of the first century before the Christian era as the probable date of the original chronicle, which was versified in anustups in this astronomical treatise. 2

8. After a brief description of the three former yugas, enumerating a number of chief herces of the Mahābhārata to be born in the closing period of the third yuga (yugakṣaye), the Kali is introduced on the death of Queen Kṛṣṇā (A. S. B. MS. folio 103, Benares MS. folio 93). I give below the text dealing with the Kali age.³

¹ See Kern, Brs., Intro., pp. 33-34.

² The criticism of Dr. Fleet (J. R. A. S., 1912, 791-792) on the antiquity of the book is hardly warrantable. The fact that a work contains unreasonable figures (and the figures of the Yuga-purana are not, as we shall see below, so unreasonable as they have been taken to be) does not necessarily prove a late origin.

The Yuga-Purāṇa is in the form of an answer from Śankara to Skanda.

[§ 1. Beginnings of the Kali Age.]

[The text of this section is based on the manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (to be referred to as A.) and on the MS. of the Benares Sanskrit College (to be referred to as B.). Dr. Kern has not quoted the passage.]

- 1. द्र्पदस्य सुता कष्णा देशान्तरगता मही ॥
- थ. ततो नरत्तये इत स्व(: ?) शाते न्रपमंडले।
- 3. भविष्यति कविनाम चतुर्थं पश्चिमं युगं ॥
- ततः किंबुगस्यातो (० दौ) परीचिज्ज [न] मेजवः ।
- 5. पृथिव्यां प्रथि ः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्वति न संग्रयः ॥
- सोपि राजा दिजै (ः) सार्ड विदोधसुपधास्वति ।
- 7. दारविप्रकृतामर्षः कालस्य वश्रमागृत:॥

[§ 2. Foundation of Pātaliputra.]

[Dr. Kern has quoted all the lines given by me in §§ 2-5 except line 26. Kern's text is referred to as K.]

- 8. ततः कलियुगे राजा धिग्रुनागात्मजी बक्षी।
- 9. उद्धी (० वी) नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गृणैः ॥

N. B.—Figures in f. n. refer to the lines above. (Round brackets) indicate proposed emendations. [Square brackets] enclose apparent corrections. Pkt=Prakritism.

[ै] शांते (B) for शाते (A).

³ This line is omitted in A.

^{&#}x27; कतियुगस्थातो (A), • स्यांते (B), • जम्मेजय (A), and (B.)

⁵ A. spells the last word throughout as gi o

⁷ A. omits the visarga.

[•] शिश्वनागात्मजो (B.) and (K)

[ै] उदघीर्नाम (K.)

- 10. गङ्गातीरे स राजविं ईचियो स महावरे।
- 11. स्थापपेन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पारामजनाकुलं ॥
- 12. तेथ Pkt. (तत्र) पुष्पपुरं रम्यं नगरं पाटलीसुतम्।
 - [§ 3 Longevity of Puspapura (Pāṭaliputra).]
- 13. पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि स्थास्यते नात्र संग्रयः ॥
- 14. वर्षाणां च शताः पञ्च पञ्चसंवत्सरास्त्रथा। Pkt.
- 15. मासपश्चमशोरात्र' महर्त्ताः पश्च एव च ॥ Pkt.
- [§ 4. King Salisuka at Puspapura and the "so-called Conquest of Dharma".]
 - 16. तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनराजा Pkt. शताकुले।
 - 17. ऋतुचा कर्मसुतः ग्राह्मिशूको भविष्यति॥
 - 18. स राजा कर्मसूतो दुष्टात्मा वियविग्रहः।
 - 19. खराष्ट्रमर्दते घोरं धर्मवादी प्रधार्मिकः॥
 - 20. स ज्येष्ठभातरं साधुं केतिति (केतिति?) प्रथितं गुणैः।

¹⁰ दिवा समानाना चरो (K) and (A.)

[&]quot; नगरे (A.), नगरे रम्ये पुष्पो राम जन संयुत' (B.)

¹⁹ तेश (A and B) points to Prakritism. It seems to have been तत्थ = तत्र।

K. reads तेऽश पुरापुर रस्य नगर पाटलोसुते, evidently on account of तेऽश putting the verb in the next line in plural.

is expressed (A. and K.) The B. reading is correct. Any in the preceding line has led the copylist to put the verb in plural; A has nothing to qualify.

¹⁴ Prakritism is evident in this line and in the next one. वर्षाणां वैश्वताः(B) संवतसर (B.)

[&]quot; • बाजा (B.)

¹⁶ इस्य जनग्रज((K. and A.). राखे जनश्जा (B).

¹⁷ ऋतुचा—(K.), ऋतुच: (B.). कर्मसती unanimonsly in all.

¹⁹ सहने (B.). घोरो (A.) is replaced by चैव in (B.).

²⁰ केविति is to be found unauimously in all the mss., cf. Páli kitteti Sanskrit ketati, 'commemorating'.

- 21. खापियपति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम घार्मिकम् ॥
- [§ 5. The Greek Invasion and the Battle of Puspapura.]
- 22. ततः साकेतमाक्रस्य पञ्चानानमधुरां तथा।
- 23. यवना दुष्टविकान्ता (:) प्राप्यन्ति कुष्ठमध्वजं ॥
- 24. ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते।
- 25. माकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः॥
- 26. श(स)दु (दु)म-महायुदं तद् (तदा) भविष्यति पश्चिमं।
- [§ 6. Condition of the People at the end of the Kali Age.]
- 27. श्रनार्याद्यार्यधर्माद्य भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः।
- 28. ब्राह्मणा (:) चत्रिया चेश्याः श्रूदाश्चेचं युगत्तये।
- 29. समवेषा (:) समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशय:।
- 30. पाषंडैय समायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगचये।
- 31. खीनिमितं च मित्राणि करिच्यन्ति न संशय: ।
- 32. चीरवल्कसंवीता जटावल्कलधारिणः।
- 33. मिश्चुका दृषता बोके भविष्यन्ति न संग्रयः।
- 84. चेताग्रहणला लोके होष्यन्ति लघुविक्रियाः।
- 35. जंबारप्रथितैर्मन्त्रे (:) युगान्ते समुपस्थिते।

²² पद्मारा साध्रा (A.) and (B.). K's reading is adopted here. The other reading will indicate that the Yavanas (line 23) were from Panchala and Mathura. But see lines 40—44.

अ स्वना (B.). • 5वना (A.).

^{**} Kern has left out lines 26-41. He casually gives one extract from lines 32-33:-- "The next following is a complaint against the heretics (pāshandās described as चौर-वरकालचंदीता जटावरकालचारिय: । भिनुदा वृष्णा कोचे भविकाल " (Kern, Br. S. Intro., p. 38).

म खनायीखाणधर्माख (A.).

[🗝] चैव (B.).

[»] बमवेबा बमाचारा (A.).

²⁰ चौरी वंबाता (A.).

⁸¹ रूपका (A.).

[ै] श्वामानित (B.).

- 36. शाम्निकार्ये च जप्ये च अम्निके च इढब्रता :।
- 37. शूद्राः कलियुगस्यान्ते भविष्यन्ति न संशयः।
- 38. भोवादिनस्तथा शूट्रा [:] ब्राह्मणाश्च(ा)यैवादिन:।
- 39. स[म]वेशा (ः) समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः।

[§7 Exactions by Dharma-mita and the Greek retirement from Madhyadeśa.]

[K. gives lines 42-46.]

- 40. धर्मामीत-तमा हड्डा जनं भीज्(द्य)न्ति निर्भेथाः।
- 41. यवना ज्ञापयिष्य(ं)ति [नश्येरन्] च पार्थिवाः।
- 42. मध्यदेशे न खास्यिन यवना युद्धुर्मंदा।
- 43. तेषामन्योग्य-संभाव (ं) भविष्यति न संग्रय:।
- 44. ज्ञात्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं युद्धं परमदारुणं।

[§8. The Kings of Saketa and the condition of Magadha.]

- 45. ततो युगवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिचये।
- 46. स(1)केते सप्तराजानी भविष्यन्ति महाबळा:।
- 47. नोहिता द्वि]स्तथा योधेयो या युद्दपरिचताः।

भविष्यन्ति (K).

 $^{^{\}prime\prime}$ अग्निकाये ਚ जयो ਚ $^{(\Delta)}$

²⁸_29. Found in (B), not in (A). MS. read Authorit

[&]quot; नप्रादेख" (A) and (B).

[&]quot; मध्ये (A). मध्ये (B) and (K).

⁴³ संभाव ^(B), संभावा ^(A) and ^(K), भविष्यति ^(A) and ^(B).

[&]quot; दा**ब**णां (A).

[&]quot; u代電社 (B) and (K), u行電社 (A).

[&]quot; संकेते (A) and (K)., सकेते (B).

⁴⁷ K. does not cite lines 47-52, but mentions Agrivaisya Kings (page 38).

छोहिताड़ी० (A), ०ड़े (B) योघेर् is left out in (A). युद्धपरीचिता: (B).

- 48. करिष्यन्ति पृथिवीं ग्रून्यां रक्तवीरां सुदाक्ताां।
- 49. ततस्ते मगधा : क्रत्स्ना गङ्गासीना (ः) सुदारुगा : ।
- 50. रक्त पातं तथा युद्धं भविष्यति तु पश्चिमं।
- 51. अ[ा]सिवैध्यास्तु ते सर्वे राजानी (०नः) कतवित्रहा:।
- 52. त्त्रयं यास्थान्त युद्धेन यथैषामात्रिता जनाः।

[§9. Advent of the Sakas.] [K. cites lines 53-58.]

- 53. ग्रकानांच ततो राजा हार्थलुब्धो स**दारलः** ।
- 54. दृष्टभाषभ पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते।
- 55. कलि'ग-मत-राजार्थं विनाम' वै गमिष्यति।
- 56. केचद्रकगड़ : (?) श्रवलैविंलुपन्ती (sic) गमिष्यति ।
- 57. किनिष्ठास्तु इता (:) सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संगय:।
- [§ 10 End of the (first) Saka king, and anarchy.]
- 58. विनष्टे शकराजे च शून्या पृथिवी भविष्यति ।
- 59. पुष्पनाम तदा शून्य (') [वौ] भत्स (') भवति [वत]।

" मागधा : (A)., सत्स्नां (A).

[&]quot; पृथिवी शृन्या (A).

so A. reads gray for gray (B). K. also evidently had gray before him, as he says 'After some wars, it is said that the Agnivaisya kings will fall in battle' (page 38).

^{5°} ०मञ्जिता (A).

[&]quot; हार्थयुष्वा महबला: (A).

⁵⁵ कर्निंग (B)., 'गा o (A) and (K)., oराजार्थ (B) and (K).

⁵⁶ केचद कर्ण्ड (A) and (K)., कोवेड्कंडे: (B.) वितु'पन्तो (B).

⁵⁸ ग्रकराजे (K)., ^oराज्ये (A) and (B). K. stops with this lines but mentions certain data from § § 11-12. (Br. S., Intro., p, 39.)

⁵⁹ पुष्पनामान तदा शून्य विभत्स भवति चत (△), भवति वर्त (B) read भविता चत।

60 भविष्यति नृपः कश्चित्र वा कश्चिद् भविष्यति ।

[§ 11 Certain Mlechchha kings.]

- 61 ततो(ऽ)रणो धनुमूलो भविष्यति महाबलः ।
- 62 श्रम्बाटो लोहिताचे ति पुष्यनामं[ग]मिष्यति ।
- 63 सर्वे ते नगरं गत्वा श्रून्यमासाय [स]र्वतः ।
- 64 वर्थेळुव्धाश्च ते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति महाबला :।
- 65 ततः स मुच्छ। आम्लाटो रक्ताचो रक्तवस्र भृत्।
- 66 जनमादाय विवशं परमुत्साद्यिष्यति ।
- 67 ततो वर्णास्तु चतुरः स नृपो न।शियथित ।
- 68 वर्णाधःवस्थितान् सर्वान् कत्वा पूर्वाव्यवस्थि[तान्]।
- 69 ग्राम्हाटो लोहिताचश्च विपत्स्यति सवास्व :।
- 70 ततो भविष्यते राजा गोपालोभाम-नामतः।
- 71 गोपा[सः]तु ततो राज्यं भुक्ता संवत्सरं नृपः।
- 72 पुष्पके चाभिसंयुक्तं ततो निधनमेष्यति ।

⁶¹ ° रणे धत्र ° (B). ef. अनरणो in line 75.

⁶² आसा(सा?)ये (B), K. reads Abhrāļa or Amrāļa Lohitāksha (p. 39.) गाभिश्वति both in (A) and (B).

⁶³ The last word is usage in mss.

[👫] শ্বৰ্যন্তব্য ^{০ (A)}

⁶⁶ अम्राटो (Å), °स्तृचौ (Å).

⁶⁶ °त्स्यादये° (≜).

aus a reminiscent of a Prakrit ending.

68 aus a reminiscent of a Prakrit ending.

[®] आप्राप लोहिताञ्चश्च विपत्सवीवधः । ^(A), आस्ताटोाङ [®] ताज्वश्च विपत्स्यति सवान्धवः । ^(B).

⁷⁰ °भामनमतः (^{A);} °नाम नामतः (^{B)}.

गोपाळं चु (A) ' Gopāla ' (K)

⁷² yxxx (A), (B); "Pushyaka" (K).

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73. ततो धर्मपरो राजा पुष्यको नाम नामतः।
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- 74. सोपि संवत्सरं राज्यं सु[क्त्वा] निधनमे(ष्य)ति ।
- 75. ततः सविलो राजा अनरणी महाबल:।
- 76. सोपि वर्षत्रयं भुक्त्वा पश्चान्निधनमेखति ।
- 77. ततो विकुयशाः कश्चिद्वाद्वाग्रागो लोकविञ्चतः।
- 78. तस्यापि त्रीगि वर्षागि राज्यं दुष्टं भविष्यति ।

[§12. Puspapura and King Agnimitra.]

- 79. ततः पुष्पपुर (°) स्या[त्] तथैव जनसंकुछं।
- 80. भविष्यति वीरं (र-) सिडार्थं (र्थ-) प्रस्वोत्सवसंकुलं।
- 81. पुरस्य दक्षिणे पाश्वे वाहनं तस्य द्रम्यते।
- 82. इयानां हे सइसेतु गजवाइस्तु (क)ल्पतः।
- 83. तदा भद्रपाके देशे पश्चिमित्रस्तत्र कीलकी।
- 84. तस्मिनुत्पत्स्यते कन्या तु सहारूपश्रालिनी।
- 85. तस्या (म्र)थे स नृपो मोरं विग्रहं ब्राह्मणै: सह ।
- 86. तत्र विष्णुवशाह् हं विमी [क्ष्य]ति न संग्रयः।
- 87. तस्मिन्युद्धे महाघीरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदावणे।
- 88. अ[ा] प्रिचे श्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रहुः।

⁷³ नाम-नानतः (△).

⁷⁴ भुका in mss. (Pkt.).

⁷⁵ सविलो (A), "Savila" (K.), स विपुलो (B). अनरंखो (B).

⁷⁷⁻⁷⁸ These lines are only in B.

⁷⁹ पुष्यपुरस्थात (A), °स्यां (B).

⁸⁰ भविष्यति वीरं सिंबार्थं (A) भवेद्वीरं सिंबार्थं (B),

⁸² काल्पतः in mss.

⁸⁸ K. also "Bhadrapāka". "Aguimitra" (K), आपेसिन (A). शामेसिन (B).

⁸⁵ घोरं विक्रसं (B).

⁸⁶ तत्र वि-वसादेहं (A), विसोचति (A) and (B).

- 89. तस्यापि विंशद्वर्षाणि राज्यं स्पीतं भविष्यति।
- 90. [आ]सिवैध्यस्तदा राजा प्राप्य राज्यं महेन्द्रवत्।
- 91. भीमै: ग्ररर (शवर?)-संघातै विंग्रहं समुपेष्यति ।
- 92. तत: शरर (शवर?)-संबोरे प्रवृत्ते स महाबर्खे।
- 93. व्रषकोटे(टि)ना स तृपो मृत्युः समुपयास्यति ।
- [§13. End of the Agnivaisya (omaitrya?) Kings, and the condition of the People.]
- 94. ततस्तिसम् गतेकाले महायुद्धः [सु]दारुणे।
- 95. शून्या वसुमतो घोरा स्त्रीप्रधाना भविष्यति।
- 96. ऋषिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लाङ्ग[लक]र्यापायः।
- 97. दुर्बभत्वाग्मतुष्याणां चेत्रेषु धनुयोधनाः।
- 98. [विंश]द्भार्या दशो या (वा) भविष्यन्ति नरास्तदा।
- 99. प्रचीषाः पुरु[षा] लोके दिन्तु सर्वासु पर्वसु ।
- 100. ततः संघातशो नाय्यो भविष्यन्ति न संग्रयः।
- 101. झावर्यमिति पश्यन्तो [इष्ट्रा] घो (॰धः) पुरुषाः स्त्रियः।

⁸⁹ **इफीनं** (A).

⁹⁰ पास वेश्य ^{०(A)}; सहोद्रवत ^(A).

⁹¹ भीमौ शररसंध्यते (A).

⁹² ततः शरेरस छोरे प्रवृते समुदावेले। (A). The last word सहावले of (B) might be a mistake for महाइवे।

⁹³ वृषपातेन ^(B). सृत्यु: ^(▲).

⁰⁴ ततस्मिन् ^(A)ः, सदारुगो ^{in mss.}

⁸⁶ कृषीकार्थं °ळान्लो वण पाणयः (△); लाङ्गलोवर्ण-पाग्रायः(^(B)-

ण मनुष्यानां ° धनुयोधोना (A).

⁰⁸ विसद् भार्या दशो या भवि ° (A); विशद् ° (B). हशाया s corrupt form, originally denoting 'having ten wives.'

⁹⁹ पुरुषं (A) and (B).

¹⁰⁰ नतः सवातशो नायो^{र (A).}

¹⁰¹ EN in mss. (Pkt.).

102. स्त्रियो व्यवहरिष्यन्ति प्राप्तेषु नगरेषु च

103. नराः स्वस्था भविष्यन्ति गृहस्या रक्तवाससः।

[§ 14. Rule of the Sātu King.]

104. ततः सातुवरो राजा ह(ह)त्वा दण्हेन मेदिनी(म)।

105. व्यतीते दशमे वर्षे मृत्युं समुपयास्यति ।

[§ 15 Depredations by the Sakas on the Śiprā.]

106. ततः प्रनष्टचारित्राः स्वकमीपन्नताः प्रजाः।

107. करिष्यन्ति चका(=शका) घो[रा] बहुलाय इति श्रुति:।

108. चतुर्भागं तु [श्र]क्षेण नाशयिष्यन्ति प्राणिनां।

109. हरिष्यन्ति शकाः षोशं (कोशं? तेषां ?) चतुर्भागं स्वकं पूरं

110. ततः प्रजायां रोप्रायां तस्य राज्यस्य परिचयात् ।

[§ 16 Long Famine and Plague.]

111. देवो द्वादशवर्षाण अनाहृष्टिं करिष्यति।

112. प्रजानाशं गमिष्यन्ते दुर्भित्तभयपौडिताः।

113. ततः पापचति खोके दुर्भिचे रोमहर्षणे।

114. भविष्यति युगस्यान्तं सर्वप्राणिविनाशनं ।

115. जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशय:।

¹⁰³ नराः स्वरथा ° ग्रहस्ता (△).

¹º⁴ सतु^{० (A.)} ; सात्त् (B.).

¹⁰⁵ व्यतन्ते (Å.).

¹⁰⁷ वका (B); घोरो (A.) and (B.); इतियुतः (A.).

¹⁰⁸ शास्त्रेन (A.). शास्त्रेण (B.). नाश्यिष्यति (B.).

¹⁰⁹ **बोश** (A.) and (B.).

¹¹⁰ रोषा्यां (B.). राज्यां (B.).

[&]quot; देवो।द्वारे दशवर्षां (d.)

[ा] पापचये (A.). दुभिन् (A.).

[&]quot; विनाशानां (A.).

¹¹⁶ जिंसार[©] (A.).

Translation.

[Section 1-Beginnings of the Kali Age.]

The great K r s n ā, daughter of Drupada, died. Thereafter while there is a loss of human population and the circle of kings is thinned for future, there will be the fourth and the last age called K a l i.

Then, in the beginning of the Kali age, there will be born Janamejaya, son of Parīkshit, who will be famous on the earth and full of majesty: there is no doubt about it. And that king will have hostility with the Brāhmanas (which will happen) on account of the king coming into the hand of Time, having incurred indignation of the Brāhmanas for his wife.

[Section 2—Foundation of Pāṭaliputra.]

Thereafter, in the Kali age, (there will be) a king, descended from Siśunāga, (he will be) powerful, U d a d h ī (Udayī) by name, virtuous and famous on the earth on account of his qualities That royal sage on the southern bank of the Ganges, within a large enclosure founds a charming (chief) city full of flower gardens and population—that, [or, thereon] capital P u ṣ p a p u r a, the son of P ā ṭ a l î, the charming.

[Section 3-Longivity of Puspapura (Pataliputra)].

It will last, and there is no doubt about it, for five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days, as well as five muhūrtas (4 hours).

बासन्दीवति धान्यादं क्विमणं हरितस्रजम् । अद्यं वबन्ध सारङ्गं देविभ्यो जनमेजयः॥ दति

Janamejaya's historical position is undoubted. The quarrel is hinted at in the Ait. Br. and is historical. Cf. also Pargiter, Puraga Text, p. 86.

¹ Mahi, 'great' (Vedic).

² The story of this quarrel is to be found in the Purāṇas, e.g., Matsya (c. 50, 56-65); the dispute was in connection with sacrifice. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 22-180) mentions the historical fact of the horse-sacrifice by this king and even quotes the yajāa-gāthā about it, giving details:—

[Section 4—King Śāliśūka at Puspapura and the "so-called Conquest of Dharma-"]

In that charming Puşpapura, full of hundreds (of men), the king of the nation will be $\delta \bar{a} l i \delta \bar{u} k a$, son of Rtu(=Rbhu) kṣā-karma (Ribhuksha-Varma?)

That king produced by deeds, of wicked soul, fond of quarrels, talking of Dharma (religion) (but really) devoid of Dharma (religion), causes terrible oppression to his own realm. He, the fool, commemorating (following) his elder brother the good and famous on account of his virtues, will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma (religion).

[Section 5.—The Greek Invasion and the Battle of Puspapura.]

After this, having invaded Sāketa, the Pānchālas and Mathurā, the viciously valiant Yavanas (Greeks) will reach Kusumadhvaja ('the town of the flower standard'.) Then the thick mud-fortification (embankment) at Pāṭaliputra being reached, all the provinces will be in disorder, without doubt. Ultimately a great battle will follow with tree(-like) engines.² [Section 6. Condition of the People at the end of the Kali Age.]

In the end of the Yuga there will be non-Aryans following the religious practices of the Āryas. The Brahmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas as well as the Śūdras will be low men. They undoubtedly will dress themselves all alike, and will have conduct all alike. In that end of the Yuga men will be united with heretical sects; they will strike friendships for the sake of women. This is without doubt. Without doubt there will be in this world Bhikṣukas (religious mendicants) of the Śūdra caste, wearing chira (Buddhist religious cloth) and bark, wearing matted hair and bark. At the approach of the end of the Yuga in this world, the Śūdras will offer oblations to fire with hymns

¹ Ribhukshā = Indra. It probably represents the father of Indra-pālita of the Vāyu and the Brahmānda where he is placed just above the position occupied by Sālisūka in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. Cf. Devavar mā, the next king.

² This was probably Sataghnî [which is described to be tall like a palmyra tree]. The Arthaéastra mentions that on the city-walls there should be engines of war: "Harbahan दशक्यक्यम्यातम्य:" (ch. 24).

proclaimed with omkāra, and (will be) keepers of the three fires with little hesitation. Without doubt in the end of the Kali age, there will be Śūdras with fixed vows for fire sacrifices, praying and in matters of fire rituals.

Without doubt there will be Sūdras who will address with "Bho!", and Brāhmaṇas who will address (others) with "Árya!" They will be alike in dress and conduct.

[Section 7.—Exactions by Dharma-mīta, and Greek retirement from Madhyadeśa.]

The $Tam\bar{a}$ -elders¹ of Dharma-mīta will fearlessly devour the people. The Yavanas (Greeks) will command, the Kings will disappear. (But ultimately) the Yavanas, intoxicated with fighting, will not stay in Madhyadesa (the Middle country): there will be undoubtedly a civil war amongst them, arising in their own country, there will be a very terrible and ferocious war.

[Section 8.—The Kings of Saketa and condition of Magadha.]

Then on the destruction of the Yavanas (Greeks) owing to the influence of the Age, at Sāketa there will be seven powerful kings. The soldiers wounded in battles by the soldiers of the Lohitādri (the Red Mountain) will make the land empty, terrible with blood, and fearful.

Then the whole of the Magadha people inhabiting by the Ganges (will become) ferocious: ultimately there will be bloodshed and war. They, all the Agnivais (Agnimaitryas'?) Kings in (mutual) discord will perish by war, and so will do the peoples dependent on them.

[Section 9.—Advent of the Sakas.]

Then the king of the Sakas, greedy, very powerful, wicked and sinful at the approach of (his) end will attain destruction (in his) aim against the Sata King of Kalinga.

He will go, being effaced by the Savaras armed with arrow (of 'Kechadra' or 'Kovedu'?). The smaller (Saka chiefs) will be all killed without doubt.

¹ See J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 128, for 'tama elders.'

[Section 10.—End of the (first) Śaka King, and anarchy.]
On the destruction of the Śaka king the land will become desolate. [The town] called Puṣpa will then become desolate, and, alas, repulsive. There may be a king, or there may not be a king.

[Section 11.—Certain Mlechchha (Greek) Kings.]
Then Amlata (or Amnāṭa), called 'the red-eyed,' the invincible,
Amlata arising from dhanu (or dhatru)? who will
be very powerful, will assume the name
Pushya. They all going to the (or, a) city, will occupy the empty
town fully. They all will be greedy for wealth and powerful.
Then the foreigner (Mlechchha) Amlāṭa, the red-eyed, wearing
red clothes, finding the people extremely helpless, will overturn
them. Then that king will destroy the four castes, by making
all the old-established (castes) lowplaced.

Amlata, the red-eyed, will also fall in distress along with his Gopalobhama family. Then there will be a Gopālobhāma bv name. But King Appolophanes. Gopāla, then having ruled for one year the kingdom along with Pushyaka, will attain his end. Then there will be the Pusyaka just king, called Pusyaka by name; he also having ruled the kingdom for one Peukelaos. year, will attain his end. Then (there will be) King Savila, the Savila. invincible, the powerful; he also after having ruled for three years, will attain Ziolos. his end.

Then (there will be) Vikuyasas, some non-Brāhmaṇa, famous among the people. His reign will be wicked, also for three years.

[Section 12.—Agnimitra at Puspapura.]

Then (besides), Puspapura will be similarly populous. It will be full of festivities celebrating the birth of hero Siddhārtha. In the southern quarter of the city his conveyance is seen—two thousand horses and an elephant-car, (kalptah, coming down from ages?). At that time in Bhadrapāka, the country having a pillar, there (will be) Agnimitra. There will be born

a very beautiful girl in that country. For her that king will have a terrible battle with the Brāhmaṇas. There on account of the (decree) of Viṣṇu, he will leave his body (die), without doubt. After the close of that very terrible battle a son of Agnimitra (misspelt Āgnivaisya) will be king and a great lord. And his reign will be a successful one, for 20 years. Then King Agni[maitrya], having obtained the kingdom like Mahendra will have a war with a combination of the Savaras (?); then the king while engaged in the terrible and big war, will attain death through the (weapon?) bull-horn?

[Section 13.—End of the Agnivaisya (Agnimaitraya) kings, and condition of the People.]

Then at the time after the end of the terrible war, the earth will be desolate and terrible, and will be predominated by women. Women will do the work of cultivation handling ploughs; on account of the scarcity of men, women will act as bow-soldiers on (battle) fields. At that time men will have 20 wives or 10 wives. In the society, in every direction, on festivals, the (number of) men will be few and women will be by crowds, without doubt. Seeing women in a position superior to men, they see a strange sight. Women will do every business in villages and towns. Men will be contented, and householders will wear red (ascetic) robes.

[Section 14.—Rule of the Satu king.]

Then the excellent king of the Satus, having conquered the land through his army on completing the 10th year, will attain death.

[Section 15.—Depredations by the Śakas : on the Śiprā.]

Then the terrible and the numerous Sakas will make the population lose their conduct and degraded in their own acts. This is the report (oral). One-fourth of the population the Sakas will destroy by weapon, and they will take away to their own capital one-fourth of their (? wealth or ? number).

Then in the population on the Seprā on the destruction of that régime:

¹ Reading महाहचे for महाबले ?

[Section 16.-Long Famine and Plague.]

God [Indra] will cause a drought for 12 years. The population will be dwindled, oppressed by famine and perils. Then in the world decayed by sins, after a famine causing extreme terror, there will be the end of the Yuga, destroyer of every life. There will be a terrible plague without doubt.

* * * *

[The pessimistic description is continued. The waters of several rivers, the Ganges, the Indus, the Iravati, the Visakha, the Vetravatî, the Suvarņā, the Kausikī and the Sarasvatī, would be dried up on account of the drought. There would be atheists and men of unbrahmanical behaviour. In the twelve states (mandalas) the orthodox man would be exhausted from hunger and thirst. Those who would live on the Ajatagiri in the two states (mandalas) would have a better time and so would they who would reside in the third state. Those who would have patience would survive the famine and the epidemic as also those living on the sea-coast and at Mahāvata, to the south-east of the frontiers. The Kaveri would water for three hundred yojanas, and the people would live there on fish and on boars. In another mandala near Bhojakatal the population at Devikūta and Strikūta would subsist on fish and moths. The distress would be most terrible in the Kuvinda country and on the Trikūta and the Pāriyātra mountains. All this is to happen at the end of the (Kali) yuga. Each kalpa is of thousand yugas.2 Thus ends हडगागी ये ज्योतिषे युगपुराण नाम ।

General discussion.

I. It is noteworthy that the Kali age, according to this authority, began with the death of Kṛṣṇā Kali age.

Draupadī, while the Purāṇas date the

e. event with the day of the death of Kṛṣṇa

Vāsndeva. This datum like so many other details which follow, indicates a source different from what the Purāņas are based on.

I In A., Nokata.

<sup>See J. B. O. R. S. I., 257—58, on extensions of the Kali duration.
A. S. B. Ms. fol. 105.</sup>

- 2. Janamejaya is a historical person as already pointed out in the foot-notes to the translation. His quarrel with the Brahmins is known from other sources, but the detail about his wife is new.
- 3. Udadhī which is a misspelling of Udayī is described as a descendant of Sisunāga, that is, the Foundation of dynasty in which he flourished started with Sisunāga just as in the Purāṇas. It is remarkable that the second event of the age after Janamejaya

is remarkable that the second event of the age after Janamejaya is the foundation of Pāṭaliputra. That the founder was a popular and virtuous king is a new piece of information; and so is the description that the City was founded within a big enclosure and as a garden-city.

- 4. It seems that there was some sort of prophecy or astrological calculation connected with Longevity of the foundation of Pāṭaliputra which was current at the time when the Yuga-Purāṇa was composed. A similar prophecy was long current about Delhi, another imperial town. In respect of the first beginnings of Pāṭaliputra in the life-time of the Buddha we know the prophecy attributed to the Great Teacher. The Arthasāstra mentions the anniversary Nakṣatra of the country just like the anniversary Nakṣatra of the king.¹ Evidently the Nakṣatra of the country was taken to be the foundation-day
- of the capital or some similar event.

 5. The history of India, in the eye of the author of the Yuga-Purāṇa, centres round Pāṭaliputra Pataliputra and since its foundation and up to the time of the Indo-Greeks and the Śakas. This is marvellously correct. The author notices the successors of the Mauryas ruling both at Pāṭaliputra and Sāketa. The latter fact is borne out by the recent inscription of Ayodhyā. The most important fact however is that the centre of attention of this ancient historian suddenly changes from the Hindu rulers of Pāṭaliputra and Sāketa to the Indo-Greeks of the North-Western frontier, and the Sakas of Western India.

Bhandarakar, Asoka, pp. 10-11.

6. In the Puranas Śaliśuka comes after Samprati in the list

King Salisū Patalinutra. " so-called the conquest Dharma. "

of the Mauryas. One copy of the Bhagavata Puranal has preserved the reading describing Salisuka as the son of Suvasas which is an alternative name of Kunāla.2 As Dasaratha and Samprati were sons8 of Kunāla and grand-sons of

Asoka, it seems that Śalisūka was probably a third son of Kunāla. The Gargasamhita seems to state that he emulated his elder brother who had been famous for his virtuousness, and in doing this Salisuka foolishly established the so-called conquest of Dharma. This and the express statement " irreligious, though talking about religion" imply that the king imposed some heretical religion on the people and was regarded as a religious tyrant. The 'Conquest by Dharma' reminds us of the same term in Asoka's inscription. On this evidence it seems that Asoka's descendants did try to carry out the direction of their ancestor to establish Dharma-vijava. The brother referred to in the Yaga-Purana was probably the famous Samprati who was to Jainism what Asoka had been to Buddhism.

7. The Greek invasion covering Sāketa, Pañchāla, Mathurā

Greek invasion and the battle of Puspapura.

and Pātaliputra is described in a way which shows that it made a deep impression on the national mind and that it was not a very old history at the time when the original chronicler recorded it. All the provinces were highly perturbed when the Greeks reached Pataliputra. In other words, at that time Pātaliputra was the imperial capital. The event must be dated about the time when Patanjali writing at Pataliputra gives the illustration " अरबदावन: सामेतम् " (M. 3.2.2). That it was a past though recent event when Patanjali was writing book III of his Commentary, and at that time Pusyamitra was performing a long

¹ Pargiter, P. T., p. 29, F. N. 37.

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 93-94.

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, p. 94.

sacrifice which Patanjali mentions four pages after: " usufire याचयासः " (Ibid.). A battle took place in which from the mud fortifications engines of war, tall like trees, did good service. The last year's excavations of Pātaliputra at Bulandibāgh brought to light a huge mud wall about 14 feet thick flanked with wooden palisades of the Maurya times. This discovery led me to the interpretation of क्ट्रेंस (read काइंस) हित. The expression 'hita' is taken to stand for "embankment" or "dike." after the expression hitabhanga occurring in Manu (IX. 274), the breaking of which was penal according to that law book.1 We learn from the Arthasastra of Kautilya that sataghni's and similar engines were placed on the ramparts. The defence was evidently successful. The event is alluded to by Khāravela. According to the Hathigumpha inscription while Khāravela was at the Barabara hills and Rajagrha, the Yavana King retreated (evidently from Pataliputra) towards Mathura.

8. The condition of the people described shows foreigners
The condition following Hindu religious practices and
of the people. the prevalence of heretical Bhiksukas.
This refers to the Greeks and others taking to Bhagavata and
similar cults, and the increase of the Buddhist and Jain monks.

9. It is noteworthy that this condition is placed at the end of the Kali Age. This is in accordance with an early theory also found in the Purāṇas that Kali ended in the second century B.C., that is, about the time of the rise of Puṣyamitra of the Brahmin revival. (J.B.O.R.S. 1917, pp. 255-57.)

10. The description of the retirement of the Greeks from Retirement of the Madhyadesa and the important detail Greeks from that the retirement was caused by Madhyadesa (Hinacivil war in the country of the Greeks dustan).

point unmistakably to the identification

¹ श्रामघाते हिताभङ्गे पथि मोषाभिदर्शने। यित्रातो नाभिधावन्तो निर्वास्याः सपरिच्छदाः ॥म० ८।२७४॥ See commentators on it: हिता नदीमध्यसेतुरितसर्वेद्यनारायणः।

of the Greek invader with Demitrius. So does the expression Dharmamita.

11. The revenue exactions of the Greeks have been particularly noted. In the area which they overran, Hindu sovereigns disappeared.

12. After mentioning the retirement of the Greeks, the

The kings of historian notices the kings at Sāketa and simultaneously the condition of the condition of Magapeople at Magadha. There followed seven powerful kings at Sāketa who

were evidently the Agnimitras. Agnivaisya is an evident misspelling of Agnimaitrya. This is borne out by the portion marked by me as section 12 where Agnimitra is clearly mentioned but subsequently Agnivaisya reading occurs. We know from the Ayodhyā inscription that the Sungas had a provincial capital at Sāketa. It seems that after the Greek invasion Sāketa became the real capital and that it was found necessary to strengthen it which was open to attack more easily from Mathurā. Mathurā became a foreign capital in the time of the later Sungas. The Mahābhārata in its last revision knows her such. It became necessary to make Sāketa a strong centre. The similarity of the description of Sāketa to that of Pātaliputra suggests that Sāketa came to be fortified after the fashion of Pātaliputra.

13. The warriors of Lohitādri who cause troubles during the mutual discord of the Agnimitras I cannot identify. The Lohitādri is known by name only, its location being wholly uncertain.

Advent of the mitra, and a greedy and powerful king of the Sakas attempted to build up an imperial throne. This synchronism places the first Saka invasion about 100 B.c. It seems to me that these Sakas were no other than the early Satraps of Mathurā. They were thus contemporaries with the later Sungas. Lines 55 and 56 indicate that the Saka king came

in conflict with the king of Kalinga and fell along with his chiefs. The Kalinga king here is called Sata which might stand for the Satavahana. The failure of the Saka attempts and the destruction were well-nigh complete on the battlefield.

15. While the Agnimitras at Sāketa were decaying and

Certain Mlechchha kings.

Puspapura had become almost desolate (l. 59) and while the Śaka king had been crushed by the *Sata* king of Kalinga, there arose or had been already ruling

as tyrants a line of foreign kings in an unspecified part of India. Some of these kings seem to have borne some title which in Prakrit is rendered by Anarana, probably meaning 'the invincible.' Their names and titles suggest to me an identification with the Indo-Greek kings, as I have indicated by giving the equations above. The Hindu historian complains that they made the low caste people high—a complaint which will often result under the rule of new comers not admitting the validity of the fourfold caste system and taking political advantage of the weakness of that system which tends to keep down a large portion of body politic.

16. After mentioning these outlandish kings, the chronicler reverts to Puspapura. He says that the capital was populous as before, that the people performed the birth anni-

versary of Siddhartha (the Buddha). He says that for his procession certain paraphernalia could be seen to the South of the Capital. This I take to have been at what is at present called Pahari, to the South of the Patna City, which is believed to be the site of Asoka's monastery. All this evidently the historian describes from personal knowledge.

17. About Agnimitra he says that the king had a quarrel with the Brahmanas in the country Bhadrapaka. This place again I am unable to identify. The son of Agnimitra became a great master who ruled for 20 years (at Pāṭalīputra). After him is marked the end of the dynasty.

18. With the end of the Agnimaitrya at Pataliputra there rises the excellent Satu king. This is of end no other than one of the Satavahana the [Agnimaitrya] kings, and the kings. Sata King.

19. The historian acutely notices that at this point of time the population of Magadha or the Magadhan dominions had so much decreased that the main business was carried on by women, so much so that women had trained themselves even for military service. This is a true description of post-war times, marking a prolonged previous war. The historian also brings on record another feature, namely, that men were only prominent in monk's robes.

20. After the rise of the Satu king the second Saka period The Sakas again in Western India, and the time of the historian.

begins. And this is the period of the historian himself. He says that the terrible and the numerous Sakas made the people demoralised.

were at this moment in Western India and that the historian is describing the condition of Western India are implied by his mention of the locality as the valley of the Sipra. One-fourth of the population was destroyed by the Sakas by their sword and probably one-fourth of the population or their wealth was carried away by the Sakas to their own capital. This was an invasion of Mālwā which was, in effect, of a temporary nature. The historian says 'this is the report', that is, he has heard of the events on the Sipra. This means that he is here recording contemporary facts.

21. A long drought and famine following on the invasion of the Sipra is the last fact which the historian gives. surveys the whole of India. The distress was very great particularly in Northern India.

22. It seems that the Sipra invasion of the Sakas is of a period following 58 B.C. The Hindu The causes of polipopulation had been weakened by a contitical decay in early nuous war and certain amount of intercenturies. nal disruption, which was inevitable in

consequence of defeat, and the presence of the foreign enemies.

Another source of weakness was Buddhism which encouraged men to run away from duties of citizen and householder. Men sought refuge from irou truth, hard duty and the invader, in soft robes and monastery. By the easy ceremony of shaving off the head they cast off the responsibilities of men-the men of the Grhyasūtras, the men of the Arthasasiras and the men of the Dharmasūtras. They cast off their descent from the heroes of Vedic struggles and strife and took up the easy ancestry from Sākya-muni. But the cause which was still more powerful for completing the unprecedented demoralisations was the famine which reduced almost the whole of India to a condition of imbecility lasting for more than one generation. The Sakas and the Kushans who followed the Sakas found a thoroughly lifeless India. It was therefore a very easy task for Kanishka and his predecessors who established an empire and for their descendants to hold it on for 300 years undisputed. It took the country three centuries to recover and gather strength enough to shake off the Kushans. I think, we get here in the last datum supplied by the Hindu historian the explanation of the following gloomy career of Indian history of the first three centuries of the Christian era. The greatest destroyers of the Brahmin Empire were thus prolonged wars and a long famine, the latter being more powerful than the former.

VII.—The Dog-bride in Santali and Lepcha Folklore.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Santâls are a large Dravidian tribe which is classed as Kolarian on linguistic grounds and which inhabits Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas They have an extensive and interesting mass of folk-lore.

A most curious and interesting item of their folk-lore is that about the Dog-bride who is really a human girl wearing the skin of a dog. The following folktale is narrated among them about this Dog-bride:—

A herd boy married a dog-bride who was really a girl wearing the skin of a dog. Every night she used to doff her dog-skin guise and leave the house. Her husband discovered this. One night, while she was about to go out of the house, he caught hold of her and burnt her dog-skin guise. Thereafter she remained a girl possersed of more than human beauty.

Curiously enough, the Dog-bride also occurs in the folklore of an altogether alien people, namely the Lepchas who are a Mongoloid tribe living in Sikkim, Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal and the Darjeeling district.

The following folktale about the Dog-bride is narrated by the aforementioned Lepchas:—

Once upon a time, there was an orphan boy who had nothing to eat except the fish he used to catch. One day, he managed to catch a very big fish; and as he was dividing it up in his mind into equal portions, the fish in entreating terms said "Don't kill me, come with me to my parents." To this, the orphan boy replied: "But how can I go with you into the water?" The fish told him that he would have to hold on to its tail very lightly and jump with it into the river and swim until they would come to its father and mother, who

¹ For a fuller version of this folktale, vide Folktore of the Santal Parganas, By C. H. Bompas, London: David Nutt, 1909, pp. 254-256.

were sitting on golden and silver thrones. The orphan boy exactly did as he was told to do; and soon arrived at the parental home of the fish. After their arrival there, the fish informed its parents of the fact that it had been caught by the orphan boy, but that its captor—the orphan boy—had meroifully spared its life. On hearing this the parents expressed their feeling of gratitude to the orphan boy and offered to reward the latter by giving him anything that he would like to have.

Noticing a wee puppy that was lying in a corner of the hearth, the orphan boy asked for it. The parents of the fish very gladly presented it to him; and bringing it home, he tied it up in a corner of his hut.

As usual, the orphan boy went out every day and, on returning home in the evening, found that somebody had tidied up his room and cooked food for him during his absence. One day, he hid himself in a corner of his room to see who it was that tidied up his room and cooked his food. He found that it was the dog, who leaving off her dog-skin guise, had assumed the shape of a beautiful girl and was doing his household work. She was made of gold from her head down to her waist, and was made of silver from her waist down to her feet.

As she was about to begin the household work, he caught hold of her, and tearing off her dog-skin guise into pieces, scattered the same everywhere. Gold and silver flowers sprang up from wherever the pieces of the skin had fallen.

Thereafter, the orphan boy and the dog-bride lived happily in that cottage. 1

On comparing the Santal and the Lepcha folktales, we find:

(1) That in the Santâli version, the dog-bride is only a human girl wearing the skin of a dog; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she is a fairy wearing a dog-skin guise.

Vide the folktale entitled "A fairy disguised as a puppy" in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series), Vol. XXI (1925) no. 4, pp. 380-382.

- (2) That, in the Santâli version, she leaves off her dogskin guise during the night and assumes the shape of a human girl; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she doffs her dog-skin guise during the day time and, assuming the shape of a beautiful girl, does the household work.
- (3) In the Santâli version, the dog-bride is only a human girl made of flesh and blood; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she is a fairy made of gold from head down to her waist, and made of silver from her waist down to her feet.
- (4) That, in the Santâli variant, the dog-bride's husband burns the dog-skin guise which is reduced to ashes; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, the orphan boy tears off the fairy's dog-skin guise to pieces and scatters the same everywhere; and gold and silver flowers spring up from these fragments of the skin.

These two folktales illustrate the cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture, which is to the effect that there is no difference between man and beasts and that a man, at his sweet will and pleasure, can assume the shape of a beast and vice versa. This belief in the interchangeability of human and animal forms also prevailed in Europe during the Middle ages, when the people believed in the existence of werwolves or of human beings who were men by day and wolves by night. The same sort of belief prevails in India and the Malay Peninsula where the people believe in the existence of wertigers or of men who are human beings by day and tigers on other occasions. Similarly, the natives of South Africa believe in men-hyænas, and the Baluchis of Baluchistan believe in the existence of men-bears. I

The Tibetans also believe that certain privileged persons can, at their sweet will and pleasure, transform themselves into beasts. There is in Pibet a lady named Dor-je Pa-mo,

¹ For a fuller exposition of this point, vide the Handbook of Folklore, By C. S. Burne, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, pp. 40-41.

"the thunderbolt sow" of Sam-ding, who is believed by the Tibetans to be capable of metamorphosing herself into a sow."

From what I have stated above, it would appear that the Santals are a Dravidian people, and that the Lepchas are members of the Mongoloid race; that they live at a great distance from each other and that there is no record or document extant to show that there was ever any intercommunication between these two tribes. Notwithstanding this, there is a great deal of similarity between the aforementioned two folktales. Therefore the question arises: How has this similarity come about?

We should answer this question by saying that this similarity between the two aforementioned folktales can only be explained by Dr. Franz Boas's theory of the "Parallelism of Culture-Development." It postulates that "different groups of mankind started, at a very early time, from a general condition of lack of culture; and, owing to the unity of the human mind and the consequent similar response to outer and inner stimuli, they have developed everywhere approximately along the same lines, making similar inventions and developing similar customs and beliefs"

¹ Vide "Tibet Past and Present," by Sir Charles Bell, Oxford. Printed at the Clarendon Press, 1924, p. 138.

² The mind of Primitive Man, By Franz Boas, New York; Macmillan Company, 1922. p. 181.

VIII.—The Caterpillar-Boy and the Caterpillar-Husband in Santali and Lhota Naga Folk-lore.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Santals of the Santal Parganas believe in the existence of men who are capable of changing themselves into caterpillars by wearing caterpillar skins. This belief of theirs is illustrated by the following interesting folk-tale which is current among them:—The Caterpillar-boy, who was a young man wearing the skin of a caterpillar, married a Rājā's daughter. Every night, after leaving the caterpillar-skin at home he went out to dance. The princess's maid-servant saw this and informed her mistress of it. One night, the princess and her maid-servant burnt the caterpillar-skin in a fire and her husband remained a handsome young man ever after that.

Curiously enough, a similar belief is also current among the Lhota Nagas who are a Mongoloid tribe living in the Naga hills of the North-eastern frontier of India. These Lhota Nagas, numbering some twenty thousand souls, occupy a piece of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang and its tributaries, down to the point where it emerges into the plains.

This Lhota Naga belief is illustrated by the following interesting folk-tale which is current among this people:— Once upon a time there lived a man and his wife. But the man was not really a human being but a caterpillar during the daytime and a real man by night. His wife was not aware of her husband's shape-shifting. One night, before retiring to sleep she said: "To-morrow I shall go out to collect some herbs for my food." These words were heard by her husband. So, very early in the next morning he left the

¹For a fuller version of this folk-tale, vide Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas by C. H. Bompas, London: David Nuit, 1909, pp. 227-232.

house first and, transforming himself into a caterpillar nipped off the leaves of the herbs mentioned by his wife. Thereafter his wife arrived on the spot and, seeing the leatless condition of the herbs, exclaimed: "How strange is this; a caterpillar must have eaten the leaves of my herbs. However, I shall gather them though leafless they are, and take them home for my food". So saying she plucked them up and took the same home. But that night after she and her husband had retired to bed, she said to the latter: "How strange it was that a caterpillar had eaten up the leaves of the herbs that I went to gather". To this he replied by saying: "It was I that did this." This behaviour of her husband greatly enraged her, so, when he was fast asleep, she gently pushed and pushed him so that he fell into the fire and was burnt.

Thereafter, the woman had to devour caterpillar hairs with the food she ate, and consequently coughed and coughed till she died.

Therefore now-a-days if anyone cough much the Lhota Naga people say, "you should not burn a caterpillar."

On comparing the Santâli and the Lhota Naga folk-tales, I find that:—(a) In the Santâli version the hero transformed himself into a caterpillar by wearing a caterpillar-skin which he used to doff at night: Whereas in Lhota Naga variant, the hero was, a real caterpillar by daytime and metamorphosed himself into a real man during the night.

- (b) In the Santali story when the heroine discovered her husband's secret she burnt his caterpillar skin in the fire, and thereafter her husband remained a handsome young man for ever: Whereas in the Lhota Naga folk-tale when the heroine discovered the secret of her husband's shape-shifting she burnt her husband to death.
- (c) The sequel of the Santāli story is a happy one; whereas that of the Lhota Naga variant is a tragic one.

¹See the folk-tale entitled, "The woman with a caterpillar for a husband in The Lhota Nagas, by J. P. Mills. London: Macmillan and Co. 1922, pp. 195-196.

These two folk-tales illustrate the cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture which is to the effect that there is no difference between men and beasts, and that a man, at his sweet will and pleasure, can assume the shape of a beast, and vice versa.

There is no evidence to show that the Lhota Nagas borrowed the story from the Santâls or that the latter derived it from the former. Therefore the question arises: how has this similarity come about? The answer to this query is that this coincidence of folk-tales which are current among widely separated peoples like the Santâls and the Lhota Naga, is due to a "Psychic Unity" which compelled primitive man to conceive the same explanations of natural phenomena and express them in similar language.

IX.—The Frog in North-Indian Rain-Compelling Rites.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The frog plays an important part in the rain-compelling rites performed by many races of people all over the world. Sir J. G. Frazer accounts for this by formulating the theory that, as frogs and toads are intimately associated with water they are popularly believed to be the custodians of rain and that, for this reason, frogs are so much in evidence in rain-compelling rites.* With due deference to such a high authority as Sir J. G. Frazer, I take the liberty to state that his theory does not apply to the rain-making rites performed by the Hindus of Northern India.

They believe that Indra is the god of rain and that, as frogs in large numbers appear on the commencement of the rainy season they must be the rain-god's myrmidons and that it is for this reason that the frogs are so much used in rain-compelling rites. This is evidenced by the rain-compelling rite which is performed in villages in the district of Darbhanga in North Bihar. In this rite the setting in of the rains with their concomitants—the appearance of the frogs is simulated by the travesty of throwing of pitchers of water containing frogs into neighbour's court-yards. Sometimes instead of throwing actual frogs the village boys blacken their faces and leap and hop on all fours after the manner of frogs. In this case the appearance of the frogs is symbolised by the leaping up of village boys acting the part of frogs.

These two rites are instances of Homepathic magic the underlying principle of which is that "Like produces like", that is to say, if the appearance of frogs—the favourite myrmidons of the rain-god Indra—is brought about by some artificial or magical means, the rain-god will be so far pleased

^{* &}quot;The Golden Bough" by Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged edition, London; Macmillan & Co., 1923, p. 73.

with the performance of the rite that he will cause profuse rain to fall.*

Sometimes, for the purpose of removing drought, the raingod's favourite frogs are tortured. † What is the motive lying at the root of this rite? It is not far to seak, for the root idea lying at the basis of this rite is that if the rain-god's favourite myrmidon—the frog—is tortured the rain-god's heart will be filled with pity for his favourite's sufferings and will so far relent that he will send down rain for the relief of humanity, suffering from the consequences of a drought. Curiously enough, an analogous rite is performed by the Indians of the Orinoco (South America) who believe that the toad or frog is the lord of waters, and that under the influence of this belief they will not kill any one of them. The Tibetans also believe that the frog is the God of waters and that, by immuring him underneath the ground, rain and, for the matter of that, floods, may be stopped. The members of the first Mount Everest expedition of 1921, came across an instance of this Tipetan folk belief as will appear from the following extract from their official report :-"This (the temple of the Gandenchöfel Monastery) was a curious building, square in shape, and surmounted by a cupola. It was very solidly built of stone and was, they told us, about 500 years old. It was founded by a saint called Jetsun-Nga-Wang-Chhöfel who, after a great flood which swept down the valley, destroying all the houses in it, had taken a large frog (which animal is believed to represent Water God) and buried it under the centre pillar of the temple. With great reverence they showed us the spot under which this unfortunate frog had been immured in the centre of the shrine. This immolation of the frog had apparently not been completely efficacious in preventing the floods as two other floods had

^{*}See my article "Further Notes on rain-compelling and rain-stopping Charms," in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, vol. VII, pp. 192-94.

[†]Vide Haddons " Custom of the World," London, Hutchinson and Co. Vel. I., p. 533.

subsequently occurred, and two small chortens had been erected to make quite certain that the frog could not get out again and cause more floods*. Sometimes these Indians keep frogs under a pot and whenever there is a drought they beat these batrachian with ros. Here the rect idea is that by torturing the lord of water himself he will be compelled to send down rain.†

Recently, the existence of a curious rain compelling rite, which is performed in Assam and which goes by the name of "the Marriage of the Frogs" has been brought to the notice of authropologist. It is stated that this rite had its origin in some legend connected with Indra, the God of rain and is performed in Assam, whenever there is a drought, for causing rain to fall.!

Now what is the root idea lying at the basis of this custom? The object is no other than that of pleasing the raingod Indra by bringing about the marriages of his favourite myrmidons—the frogs, so that they may increase and multiply. The rain-god becomes pleased at this and, as a token of his favour, causes copious showers of rain to fall.

^{*}Mount Everest, the Reconnaisance, 1921, by Lt. Col. G. K. Howard Enry, London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1922, p. 109.

[†]hrazer's " The Golden Bough " Abridged edition of 1923, p. 73.

Wide the paper entitled "The frog marriage in Assam" read by T. C. Saikis before the "Section of Anthropology" of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January 1927. This paper has been published in full in Man in India (Ranchi), Vol. VII, pp. 210-11.

X.—Note on Dog-Worship in the Hazaribagh District in Chota Nagpur.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In India, the worship of animals assumes two forms. In some cases the animals are regarded as permanent deities or members of the Hindu Pantheon. "These may be grouped as animal gods." In other cases godlings or goddesslings are supposed to take temporary possession of animals which, for the nonce, become objects of adoration. After some time the deities leave their temporary dwelling places and the animals, of whom they had taken possession, become ordinary animals and receive no reverence whatever from the people. These temporary animal gods find no place in the Hindu Pantheon and may be classed under the heading of "gods temporarily incarnated in animal forms."

Let us take the subject of the worship of dogs which is prevalent in several parts of India. For instance, in Western India, many Hindus worship the dog as being the vehicle of the god Kâla Bhairava though it is usually regarded as an unclean animal. Then again, no Maratha will lift his hand against a dog. In Nepal there is a festival which goes by the name of Khicha Puja. On this occasion wreathes of flowers are placed round the neck of every dog in the country.

On this subject Dr. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M. D. says: "On the first day (of the Dewali) all dogs are worshipped and feasted, garlands of flowers are put round their necks, and for that day at lest the pariahs in the valley and cities of Nipal live in clover, for none are beaten nor in any way maltreated."*

In these instances of dog-worship, the dog takes the place of a permanent "Animal god." But the most curious form of dog-worship takes place in the district of Hazaribagh in

^{*}Vide Sketches from Nipal, Historical and Descriptive, by the late Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M.D. in two volumes. London: W. H. Allen and Company, 1680, Vol. II, P. 352.

Chota Nagpur. There is a powerful goddessling named Lugu, who is much reverenced by the aboriginal peoples living in the tract of country between the Gola, Peter-bar, Gumia and Mandu thanas jurisdictions. Situated in this tract of country is a hill named the Lugu hill. On this hill the goddessling Lugu resides with her army of Birs or warriors, of whom the leader is Tulsi Bir.

In June 1920, an ordinary red-hued dog appeared from the direction of Karanpura, i.e., the west. People said that the aforementioned Tulsi Bir had entered this animal and in this form was out on a hunting expedition. Vermilion marks were made on its forchead; garlands of flowers or coloured thread were placed round its neck; and its tail was besmeared with ghee or clarified butter. It was fed with milk and arwa rice. It was allowed to kill goats and pigs and was fed with a portion of the meat of the animals it had killed. It was provided with a bedding to sit upon. A drummer accompanied it; and two men fanned it with branches of the nim tree. It was accompanied by a retinue of men including the village Nāiyā. It was taken to the Lugu hill and when it arrived there it was believed that Tulsi Bir had left it. Thereafter it was allowed to wander about freely.

During the period commencing from about 1900, up to 1920, seven other cases are reported to have taken place in the district of Hazaribagh, in all of which cases it was popularly believed that the aforementioned *Tulsi Bir* or, in one case Bhairava, had taken possession of the dog and thereby causing it to be worshipped by the aboriginal people of the neighbourhood.

The gentlemen who has reported these cases, says that one noteworthy feature thereof is that nowhere else except in the aforementioned tract in the Hazaribagh district do these cases of worship of the dog as temporary Animal-god take place. He is of opinion that the aforementioned tract being inhabited by

Vide "Cases of supposed Dog possession in Hazaribagh, by H. D. Christian, in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, for December, 1920, pp. 562-567.

the Santals, their fondness for hunting has something to do with the origin of the belief that the dog becomes temporarily possessed by a godling or goddessling.

It is curious to know that Tulsi Bir who is the tribal god of the Bhuiyans, and who is popularly believed by these aboriginal peoples of Hazaribagh to take temporary possession of Dogs, has been degraded by them to be a subordinate follower of the goddessling Lugu, who is adored and prayed to only by the Kolarian tribes which include the Mundas, the Santals, the Kharwars and the Birhors.

On a careful study of the foregoing instances of dog worship, I am of opinion that it is nothing but a form of animistic worship. The names of the goddessling Lugu and of her favourite follower Tulss Bir are not to be found either in the Vedās, the Purānas and other sacred writings of the Hindus. They are not installed as members of the Hindu Pantheon. The aforementioned Kolarian peoples are animists and believe that the whole of Nature is peopled by a host of benevolent and malevolent spirits who are invisible and incorporeal. I am inclined to think that both Lugu and Tulsi Bir are materialised forms of some one of the aforesaid spirits. This being so, the instances of dog worship which are reported to take place in the district of Hazaribagh alone after intervals of one year or there about, have their origin in the animistic beliefs of the aforementioned aboriginal peoples.

XI.—Note on a Recent Instance of the Human Sacrifice for discovering hidden treasures.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B.L.

There is a widespread belief among the people of many countries all over the world that snakes act as guardians of treasures hidden underneath the earth. The origin of this belief is stated to be that covetous and miserly persons, who have accumulated great hordes of wealth,—cannot take away their thoughts from these treasures even after their deaths. Folklore states that these persons, the be-all and end-all of whose existence in this world was the accumulation of wealth, assume the shape of some monstrous snakes and come down to earth and act as the guardians of these treasures. After sometime the snake guardian gets tired of this sort of life and, either assuming the shape of a human being or appearing in a vision asks a covetous person living in the neighbourhood of the hidden wealth to take possession of the wealth after giving one of his dearest relatives in return for it, so that the former may pass away into some other kind of existence. If some covetous person agrees to the snake guardian's request, and gets possession of the hidden wealth after giving the serpent one of his dearest kinsmen, that is to say, by sacrificing to the said snake one of his dearest relatives, the snake enters into some other state of existence.

An instance of this gruesome belief has recently cropped up in the Nizam's dominion, where a woman is stated to have kidnapped a child and killed it by way of sacrifice to propitiate the guardian deity of a hidden treasure as will appear from the following official account published elsewhere:—"The story of a remarkably gruesome crime, alleged to have been committed by a rich woman about three years ago in order to appease evil spirits supposed to be the guardians of a treasure-trove is contained in the Hyderabad State Police report for 1333 Fasli.

1 Res. J.

One Radhama, Patwarni of Yelamner, in the Nalgonda district, asked a Kunbi woman to procure for her a first born infant girl for the purpose of unearthing a treasure-trove buried in her house and promised the Kunbi a reward for her services. The Kunbi woman waited for an opportunity and, seeing the eighteen months old daughter of a local goldsmith playing in the street, kidnapped the child and took it to Radhama; who hid it in the upper storey of her house, giving it a strong dose of opium to keep it quiet. At nightfall Radhama went to the spot where the treasure-trove was supposed to have been buried, accompanied by four men. Then, while one of the men chanted incantations, the other men excavated the ground.

The report goes on to say that when the treasure-trove had been found the baby girl was fetched from the place where it was concealed and brutally sacrificed to the guardian spirits and buried in the pit from which the treasure was removed. The woman and her accomplices obtained bail but on revision the sessions court annulled the bail order. The woman then moved the High Court and secured an order for her release on bail. The Full Bench, however, ordered the woman to be kept under special surveillance and the police investigation to be continued. Subsequently His Exalted Highness the Nizam appointed a commission to inquire into the case. The findings of this commission are not yet known."**

It does not appear from the foregoing story whether or not the spirit who guarded the hidden treasure and to propitiate whom the woman Radhama sacrificed the child was believed to be a serpent.

In some cases, a human being is not actually sacrificed to propitiate the guardian spirit of the hidden treasure. Instead of the human sacrifice a drop of blood from the little finger of the first-born son is offered for the purpose of appearing the said spirit.

^{*}Vide the article entitled "Alleged Human Sacrifice, Hyderabad Story" in the Calcutta daily "Statesman" of the 2nd December, 1926.

It is believed in northern India that snake charmers are endowed with the power of recognising particular snakes to be guardians of such hidden treasures. If one of them comes across such a snake guardian, he stealthily goes to its hole and cajoles the latter into pointing out to him the place where the treasure-trove is concealed. It is further popularly believed that the snake guardian agrees to do this on condition of the snake charmer's offering him a drop of blood from the little finger of a first-born son.*

The custom of substituting the actual sacrifice of a human being by the offering of a drop of blood from the little finger of a first born son has its analogue in a practice which prevailed in ancient times in the Bombay Presidency, where, whenever a well was dug or a fort was built a human sacrifice used to be offered in order that water might come out of the well and that the foundations of the fort might be stable. But, at the present day, no such human sacrifice is offered. But, in lieu of it, the blood from the fourth finger of a person is taken and sprinkled over the well or the foundations of the fort.

In the Santal Parganas, the practice of offering human sacrifices for obtaining great wealth appears to have been prevalent till recent years. A writer in the Calcutta daily Statesman says: "Sir Herbert Risley said that instances had been mentioned to him of people having been kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen, or communities or villagers, who hoped in this way to gain great riches or win some specially coveted private revenge."

^{*} Vide W. Crooke's," An introduction to the popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," Allahabad Edition of 1894, pages 270-71.

⁺ Vide the "Folklore of Bombay," By R. E. Enthoven, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, page 341.

[‡] Vide the article entitled "Human Sacrifices in India" in the Calcutta daily Statesman of the 3rd July 1927.

XII.—A Brief Report of Anthropological Work for the year 1927-28.

By Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year 1927-28, besides some tours in Chōṭā-Nāgpur for a study of the ethnology of some of the aboriginal tribes such as the Khāriās and the Crāons, I made some investigations into the ethnology of the Jūāngs and the Hill-Bhūiyās of the Keonjhar State in Orissā, and the Khonds, the Porojas and the Gadavas of the Agency tracts in the Madras Presidency.

In the course of my investigations into the religious beliefs and customs of the Oraons, I discovered that a large number of Oraons, numbering approximately about a thousand, in the western and south-western parts of the Ranchi district have adopted the Kabirpanthi religion and that the introduction of this religion among the Oraons began nearly a century ago. Neither any of the Census Reports nor any previous writer on the ethnology of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, such as Dalton or Risley, appears to have noticed or, at any rate, mentioned this interesting fact.

My inquiries show that the Kabirpanthi religion came to the Oraon country from the Raipur and Bilaspur districts of the Central Provinces by way of the Sambalpur district and the Feudatory State of Gangpur on the south-western borders of the Ranchi district, in the second quarter of the last century. There are Kabirpanthi converts in the Sambalpur district as well as in the Gangpur State. And it is interesting to note that two or three Oraons of the Gangpur State have become Kabirpanthi gūrūs or religious teachers, one of whom has many disciples in the Ranchi district and only recently initiated an Oraon of village Mahārājgunj in the Basiā thānā of the Ranchi district. In the Ranchi district itself some Kabirpanthi gūrūs, of Hindu lineage, have established themselves pernanently. Such are Sohāg Dās

at village Oskeā, Mūtrū Dās at Phūlwārtōli, and Lālu Dās at Bānāgūtū, in the Basiā thānā. These Gūrūs hold pānjās or letters of authority and jurisdiction from the late Dayaram Sāheb and Ugranām Sāheb, the Head Mahants at Dhāmākherā in the Rāipur district of the Central Provinces. Almost all the Orāon converts to Kabirpanthism in the Rānchi district belong to the Simdegā and Gūmlā subdivisions which comprise the south-western and western parts of the district.

From enquiries among the principal Kabirpanthi Oraon families, it appears that the earliest converts to the faith were made among the Oraons shortly after the 'Kol Insurrection of 1832-1833. And I have found a confirmation of this in the earliest annals of the first Christian Mission to Ranchi. From the reports of the earliest German Christian Missionaries to Chōtā-Nāgpur it appears that when in 1845 they began to preach the Christian gospel to the Oraons. they found a man of the name of Ichchhā Gūrū, a Teli by caste, actively spreading the doctrines of the Kabirpanthi religion among the Oraons. Active propagation of the religion has now ceased in the Ranchi district. At rare intervals some animistic Oraon family with which a Kabirpanthi family may have entered into marriage relations may feel attracted to the purer faith and cleanlier habits of their Kabirpanthi relatives and agree to be initiated by the latter's $g\bar{u}r\bar{u}$.

The Oraon Kabirpanthis have preserved so much of the old tribal customs as do not directly militate against the fundamental tenets of the Kabirpanthi faith. And so a Kabirpanthi Oraon is permitted to marry his son or daughter in Oraon families still clinging to their old animistic faith. And such marriages do often take place.

As a matter of fact, a Kabirpanthi Oraon always seeks matrimonial alliances not only within his own tribe but also observes the strict tribal rule of totemistic exogamy. When, however, a Kabirpanthi Oraon marries his daughter to a spirit-worshipping Oraon, the girl will no longer be allowed to cook or serve rice and pulses for her parents and their people

or to eat with them. Similarly a Kabirpanthi Orāon who has taken a wife from a spirit-worshipping Orāon family will convert her into his own faith and neither she nor her husband will take cooked food at the hands of the girl's people. As I have said, a Kabirpanthi Orāon may observe such of the tribal customs at birth, death and marriage as are not incompatible with the cardinal doctrines of his adopted faith, but he must in addition arrange for the characteristic Kabirpanthi religious service known as the Chowkā. This has also to be arranged for at the initiation of a new convert.

An essential part of this ceremony is that the Mahant or $G\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ breaks a cocoanut and distributes it to all Kabirpanthis present along with consecrated betel-leaves. The flesh of this cocoanut is believed to represent the head and the betel-leaf the body of Kabir, and the eating of these would appear to serve the purpose of a sacremental meal and spiritual communion with the founder of the religion.

With the exception of the Chowkā service and the communal meal that follows, there does not appear to be much in the Kabirpanthi religion, as the Orāon understands it, to appeal to the Orāon's religious imagination and satisfy his craving for institutional religion.

Kabir or Sat Sāheb, whose name he has to reverently utter every day and to whom many bhajans or hymns are addressed, is to the Orāon convert more or less of an abstract name which does not appear to evoke the same intensity of religious emotion that the name of Mahādeo or Bhagawān does in the minds of the Hinduised Orāon Bhagats. And it is curious to find that some Kabirpanthi Orāons, like Hinduised Orāon Bhagats, have begun to employ Brāhman priests to officiate at marriage ceremonies. The Orāon Kabirpanthi believes in the power of the bhūts or malignant spirits as much as his animistic tribefellow does; but whereas the former resorts to sacrifices and certain magical practices to appease or expel them, the latter sings special bhajans or hymns for the purpose. One of my Kabirpanthi Orāon friends informs me that his father had

actually brought from the Head Mahant at Dhāmākherā a book of special bhajans to drive away bhūts.

As I said, the Kabirpanthi religion is no longer making headway among the Oraons; and the Kabirpanthi Oraon is now hardly distinguishable from the average Hinduised Bhagat except by his omission of certain old tribal observances.

In the Jeypore State in the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency and in the Vizagapatam district, I made some study of the Khonds, the Gadavas and the Porojas. The first are a Dravidian speaking tribe akin to the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the second a Mūṇḍā-speaking tribe akin to the Mūṇḍās, Khāriās and other Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whereas the third appear to be a tribe of mixed origin.

It is interesting to note that as in the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateaux the Mūṇḍā-speaking Khāṛiās and Mūṇḍās live side by side with the Dravidian-speaking Orāons, in the Sāntal Parganas we find the Mūṇḍa-speaking Sāntals side by side with the Dravidian speaking Malers or Sāūṛiās, pāhāṛiā; and in the Central Provinces we see the Mūṇḍā-speaking Kōṛkūs living side by side with the Dravidian Gōnds, so in the northern parts of the Madras Presidency we meet with the Dravidian-speaking Khonds side by side with the Mūṇḍā-speaking Gadavas and Sāvarās. This interesting juxtaposition of the two groups offer the field-anthropolgist welcome opportunities and special facilities for a first-hand study in situ of the differences due to heredity and racial history, on the one hand, and the resemblances due to culture-contact and also perhaps to racial mixture in the past.

The similarities of the social organisation and customs and religious system and observances of the Khonds of Orissā and the Madras Agency tracts and the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur are as striking and significant as their differences are interesting and instructive. As each Orāon village has its secular headman styled the Māhtō and its sacerdotal headman called the Pāhān or Nāigās, so each Khond village has its secular headman called the Sāmōntō (Oriyā, Nāikō) and its sacerdotal headman or priest called Jāni. But among the Khonds who

are in some respects more primitive than the Oraons, the two offices are sometimes combined in one and the same person, as I found, for instance, in village Kondū-gūdā about three miles from Jeypore. Again, whereas among the Khonds the posts of secular headman and of village priest are hereditary, among the Oraons these have in many places come to be elective.

Just as a group of from seven to twenty-one Oraon villages constitute a Pārhā federation under a secular headman called the Pārhā Rājā and a semi-sacerdotal headman called the Kartāhā. so the Khonds have a similar organization in which a group of confederated villages is called by the number of villages of which it is composed such as das-khānda (iit., ten parts), bārākhānda (lit., twelve parts), and so forth. The secular and sacerdotal headmen of such a group is also known respectively as the Samonto or the Jani of the group. Corresponding respectively to the Sokhās or diviners and the Mātis or sorgerers and spirit-doctors of the Oraons, the Khonds have their Desaris or diviners and primitive astrologers and their Bejjus or sorcerers and spirit-doctors. The Khonds like the Oraons have separate dormitories, one for the unmarried boys and other for the unmarried girls of a village. But the organisation of the Khond dormitory is not so elaborate as that of the Oraons. As among the Oragons so also among the Khonds, the girls' dormitory is now very rarely found to have a separate building of its own, but the unmarried girls of a village usually sleep at night in the house of some lone widow.

The resemblances in their religious systems are equally close. Like the Orāons, the Khonds recognise at the head of their pantheon a fanient Supreme Deity known by a variant of the same name. The Orāons call him Dharmē, or Dharmes, the Khonds call Him Dharma. Similarly the principal village Deity of the two tribes is identical, being known as Jhākrā Būrhiā or Chālā Pāchchō among the Orāons, and Jhankar or Jhākar Pennu among the Khonds. As among the Orāons so among the Khonds, a sacred grove is dedicated to this Deity. As among the Orāons, so also among the Khonds, before a new

village is established, the site of this sacred grove, called $jh\bar{a}kr\bar{a}$ or $\bar{s}arn\bar{a}$ by the Oraons and $Jh\bar{a}kar$ or $jh\bar{a}nkar$ by the Khonds, has to be selected and the Deity installed and worshipped in this sacred grove. The Khond Jāni or priest, on an auspicious day in the month of Chaitra (March-April), carries a stone to the selected grove or clump of trees, buries it under ground, and then offers a fowl, a pig and in some places also a hen's egg, and calls upon the Supreme Deity or Dharma to bless the new settlement about to be founded. As among the Oraons so too among the Khonds, no woman may attend the $p\bar{u}/\bar{a}$ at this grove nor touch the stone nor even enter the grove.

Before thus consecrating the sacred jhākar grove, the site for the village is selected by the following method. Seventeen grains of rice are taken and divided into three portions (pānjis lit., collections), two of seven grains each and one of three grains. The first two portions are placed side by side and the third is placed in front of them. They are then covered over with a leaf, and a stone is placed upon the leaf; after a time, the leaf is removed and the rice-grains are counted. If no grain is found missing, the site is considered auspicious. If one or more grains out of the seventeen are found missing, the site is given up as inauspicious. The Porojas also select the site for a new village in the same way.

After selecting the village site and installing the Jhākar Pennu in the sacred grove dedicated to her, the dwelling-houses of the new Khond settlement are constructed in two rows facing each other. A wide open space is left between the two lines of houses. Towards the middle of this open space a few slabs of stone are laid flat on the ground. These are collectively known as Valli in Khondi or Kui language and Bātpur in Oriya. On these stones the elders of the village sit down to discuss matters of public interest to the village or tribe. In some villages one or more trees, generally of the ficus Indica or some other variety of fig, are planted by the side of these stones. Here Khond young men and women hold their dances. This corresponds to the Akhrā of an Orāon village. Whereas the Orāons appear to

identify the Jhākrā Būṛhiā with the Earth-goddess or Dhartimāi and ceremonially celebrate the marriage of this deity with the Sun-god every year at the Sarhūl festival, a Khond priest (Butiā Disāri of village Pūtrā Gūrā) informed me that Jhānkar Pennū's husband is Dharni-deotā or the Earth-god and sacrifices offered at the sacred grove are meant for both.

Besides the Supreme Spirit and village-spirits, the Khonds like the Oraons have their ancestor-spirits, familiar spirits of individuals, and tutelary deities of families.

Side by side with the Khonds, and in some villages interspersed among the Khonds, may be found the tribe known as the Pôrōjās, Pōrjās or Pārjās.

As the Khonds have their Jhankar or Jhakar Pennu, so the Porojās have their Nieāni Mundā or Nieāni Deotā who is the guardian spirit of each village. After houses have been built in a new settlement, the Disari or village-astrologer brings a block of stone or a piece of wood and buries it in the ground near the entrance (mundā or head) of a Porojā village, and piles stones on the ground over it. The jani or village-priest sacrifices a pig, a goat and a fowl to the Nisāni Mūndā spirit. And since then every year sacrifices are offered to this spirit in the month of Chait before seeds are sown in the fields. A few seeds of all varieties are first offered to this spirit, and then sione can the fields be sown. In some villages the population consists of both Khonds and Porojas; but generally the two tribes occupy two different quarters (tolas) of the village. It is interesting to note that generally in such a village (as, e.g., in Putra gurā) there are seats allotted for both Nisāni Mūndā or Nisān deotā and Jhānkar Pennu, but the same man acts as Jāni or priest for both the Khonds and the Pōrōjās. They have also the same astrologer or Disāri and the same secular headman or Nāikō.

As among the Oraons, so too among the Khonds, each family has its own household deity called *Illu Pennu* by the Khonds and *Khānṭ Bhāt* by the Oraons.

In purely $P\bar{o}r\bar{o}j\bar{a}$ villages in the Jeypore Agency I met with a custom which might appear to point to the affinity of the Porojās or some sections of them with the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. It is curious that I do not find this custom noticed either by Thurston (article on 'Pōrōjā' in the Tribes and Castes of Southern India) or by Russel (article on 'Pārjā' in the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces). This is the custom of setting up stone memorials to the dead such as we find in vogue among the Mūṇḍās, the Hōs and the Bhumijes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. It is interesting to note that their neighbours the Dravidian-speaking Khonds do not set up such memorial stones just as the Dravidian-speaking Orāon neighbours of the Mūṇḍās too do not practice such commemoration of their dead relatives.

The Porojas erect these stone memorials, which they call khāmbā, in memory of important personages particularly old persons of a village. In the Poroja village of Kundari qura. I found as many as thirteen such stones standing in a line just by the eastern side of the settlement. In front of each upright stone slab is laid another slab of stone, flat on the ground, resting on small stones at its four corners. The procedure followed in setting up these memorial stones is as follows: After the funeral rites of the deceased have been performed (ten or twelve days after cremation) the memorial stone-slab is set up, wound round with a cloth or rather a rag secured by a string. As with the Munda hid-dires or upright memorial stones, these stones must face the east, that is to say the direction of their breadth must be from north to south so that the broad sides may look towards the east and the west. Behind the upright slab, that is to say adjoining it on the west, a nur warhalu (Oriya, soitonka) tree is planted. An old bullock or an old cow is tethered to the khāmbā or upright stone-slab and the person (generally the son of the deceased) who has planted the khāmbā cuts off the head of the animal with an axe. A little of the blood of the sacrificed animal is taken in a leaf-cup and dropped over the khāmbā. A feast of boiled rice and of meat of the sacrificial animal follows. Before the feast, a little of the cooked meat is offered to the spirit of the deceased by placing it on the flat-stone in front of the $kh\bar{a}mb\bar{a}$ or upright stone. A little fermented liquor or rather jelly-like substance prepared with $r\bar{a}gi$ flower or $m\bar{a}gu\bar{a}$ flower, is also offered to the spirit.

The Pōrjās as I learnt, have several sections among them, such as Sorā Bisya Porjās or Bar Porojās found mostly in the Jeypore area, the Jariā Pōrojās or Sān Pōrojās found mostly in the Korāput tract, the Barang Jhariā or Pengō Pōrojās found in the Kathar-gārā country, the Dhur Pōrojās or Dīdai Pōrojās found in the Bagdari country, the Khankra Pōrojās and the Mandrā Pōrojās found in the Lachimpur area, and the Kōṭā Pōrojās found in the Singpur area. Besides these are the Bandā Pōrojās and Perengi Pōrojās found mostly in the Bagdāri country, who are believed to have been originally a section of the Gadavas, and Khondi Pōrojās believed to have been originally derived from the Khonds and the Tagara Pōrojās whose origin is by some attributed to the Koyas.

This would appear to support the inference that the Porojas are not a homogeneous tribe, but were originally made up of recruits from more than one tribe.

More primitive than the Khonds and the Pōrōjās are the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribe of the Gadavas. Elopement marriage and a simulation of marriage by capture are in vogue among this people. In a regular marriage, mango leaves are tied round the neck and hands of the couple and pounded turmeric is anointed on their limbs. They have adopted some of the deities of their neighbours the Khonds and the Savaras or rather assimilated their pantheon with their own. Their principal deities now are Dharam, Thakurani or Gangā Devi, and Bhūi-deotā or Nisāni Deotā. The Gadavas burn their dead, and like the Mūṇḍās, use stone slabs either to mark the mortal remains of their dead or to perpetuate their memory. Their children are buried and not burnt and stones mark their grave. Stone slabs are ordinarily laid down flat on the ground

supported at the corners by small stones, in memory of dead adults; but in some places upright memorial stones are also found, as for example, in village $Nigh\bar{a}man~g\bar{u}r\bar{a}$.

It is interesting to note that, like the Poroias, the Gadavas offer sacrifice to the Nisāni Deotā or Bhūi Deotā (earth-spirit) symbolised by some stones under a tree (generally, Siāri tree). But the Jhankar Deoty, though found in some Gadava villages (e.g., in Jāti gūra) is not found in others (e.g., in Kūrā Gūdā). The worship of Thākūrāni or Gangā Devi appears to have been borrowed by the Gadavas as well as the Khonds and the Porojas from their Oriya-speaking Hindu neighbours and landlords. But how fluid and vague their ideas regarding these deities are may be judged from the fact that I found some Gadavas identifying Dharam Deota with Gangā whom they call Gangā Deotā. It is interesting to note that the worship of this Hindu Deity has been adopted even by aboriginal tribes in other Oriya-speaking countries, e.g. by the Hill-Bhuiyas in the Bonai and Keonjhar States and even by the more primitive Juangs of the Keonjhar State.

The Gadavas are the most primitive and interesting tribe I met with in the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency. Their women still wear home-spun cloth made up of strips of different colours manufactured by themselves from the fibre of a plant called ban-kereng (Ca'otropis gigantea) at least for the warp. Some of the women wear a rope-netting called guera or irre. As one goes along the roads through the jungles and hills of the country, one not infrequently meets with the delightful sight of bevies of Gadava women attired in their gay coloured home-spun cloths with immense earrings made of brass wires wound round in several coils and hanging from holes in their ear-lobes and reaching down to the shoulders, going to or returning from some shandy or market or perhaps going on a visit or to work as labourers on the public roads or elsewhere. A Gadava girl is not considered eligible for marriage unless she can weave. Although, new-a-days, cotton thread is permitted to be used for the woof, the cloth worn by a Gadava woman at her marriage should be preferably made of pure fibre, as mixed cloth is not considered so auspicious. In this tribe men may use cotton-cloth but women may not do so.

The Gadavas whom I met in the hills of Korāpūt are divided into three sections, namely Bara-Gadava, Sān-Gadava or Parenga-Gadava and Olārō-Gadava. Whereas the Bara-Gadava women are distinguished from other Gadava women by their huge car-rings reaching down to the shoulders, women among the Sān-Gadavas wear smaller ear-rings and their waist-cloths have narrower coloured stripes. The Olārō-Gadavas are the lowest in social rank. In the Plains, I was told, there were other sections of the Gadavas known respectively as the Kath-thiri or Kath-thara Gadavas and Kāpu-Gadavas.

Among the Bara-Gadavas, I met with four exogamous totemistic clans, namely, the Unjiria or Baboon clan, the Ollebiria fish clan, the Mündā-gūriā fish clan, the Tukumia or Tiger clan. Of these the two fish clans (Mūndā-gūriā and Ollebiria) are said to be the descendants of two brothers, and inter-marriage between them is consequently prohibited. With this exception the Gadava clans are exogamous.

The religious festivals of all these tribes are connected with the eating of the first fruits of each season. Thus the Khonds celebrate with feasts, the Kāndūl-nūā-khāi or eating the first red gram in the menth of Māgh (January), the Amba-nūā-khāi or ceremonial eating the first (unripe) mango-fruit of the season in Chait (March), and Dhān-nūā-khāi or ceremonial eating the first (upland) rice and Baitārū-nūā-khāi or ceremonial eating of the first pumpkin-gourd, both together in the month of Bhādo (August). The Pōrōjās have also similar nūā-khāi festivals. The Gadavas celebrate the amba-nūā-khāi and the dhān-nūā-khāi. The Khonds who are comparatively more advanced than their neighbours (the Pōrōjās and the Gadavas) observe somewhat more elaborate ceremonies at these festivals and dignify them with the name of Jātrās or religious processions, such as Mahāl

Jātrā and Chaul Dhuba Jātrā. The Pūjās or periodical sacrifices to their deities are also similarly known as Jātrās, such as Jhānkar Jātrā, Thākūrāni Jātrā and Būṛhā-Rāj-Jātrā. It is interesting and instructive to compare the far more elaborate Jātrā festivals and processions of the still more advanced Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribe of the Orāons.

More primitive even than the Gadavas are the Juangs of the Keonjhar State in Orissā with whom I made a short acquaintance which I intend to follow up with a more intensive study. One thing which even the casual observer cannot fail noticing is the general similarity amid variety in details in the customs, beliefs and ideas of all these primitive tribes in the hills and jungles of India.

REVIEWS AND NOTES OF BOOKS

I.—Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories.—

By Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A.—Part I.—

From the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic

Movement, 9½ × 7, pp. viii + 327, Calcutta, R. Cambrag & Co., 1927.

It is a good réchauffé of the works of Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and B. K. Sarkar. Gifted as an able compiler, the author only emphasises the historian's instinct of his proto-types.

In his assumed evolution " from the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement", as well as his "best and most reasonable view that the germs of the non-monarchical form of Government lay in the institutions of the past and as time went on these not only survived but were strengthened in certain localities while in the central region, sacerdotalism strengthened the basis of the monistic political discipline" (p. 238), he records apparent facts belonging to widely different points of time and collates materials without reference to their respective positions in their individual lines of growth. He admits the theory of evolution and yet implies that it is possible for a particular stage in cultural evolution to continue indefinitely. He believes that from the Vedic days to the Guptas and possibly later, it is the self-same entity of political evolution, and suggests that particular units in this unending line stand indefinitely at a particular point. He then collects data from more or less dated literary sources and assigns a monarchy or a republic to a particular locality in a particular period but in the self-same line of progress. Thus the margin between the task of an exegetical interpreter analysing literary (e.g., grammatical, cf. pp. 244-46) texts almost disappears.

This view of reading political development extending over two thousand years—involving continuity and standstill, forcing the initial, medial or final stages of approach of distinct lines of advance into one movement would be challenged. Petrie, for instance in his Revelations of Civilisation (1911) denies continuity and points out that civilisation (including political life) is essentially an intermittent phenomenon. should be examined like any other action of nature; its recurrences should be studied, and all the principles which underlie its variations should be defined." There is no standstill either. In spite of all irregular fluctuations of the political weather, every political idea must sprout, flourish, decay and die. Every such political institution inevitably holds within itself a toxic principle. The more rapidly it progresses, the sooner it dies for another to arise in its place. Spengler in his " Der Untergang des Abendlandes" (1918) outlines this adolescence, maturity and decay. An interesting parallel may be drawn between the Graeco-Roman world and Europe on the one hand and Hindu polity on the other. By the 2nd century B.C. the classical culture, and Europe in the 9th century A.C., had left the rude empires that saw their birth-of Agamemnon and of Charlemagne in which the power of the king was weakened: this attenuated kingship is represented by the Vedic king and the Vedic and Brahmanic coronation ceremonies (cf. J.'s Hindu Polity, part II., pp. 3-59). His place is taken by an aristocracy -in England, that of the barons, in Athens, that of the great families who held the offices: in Vedic and Brahmanic India, that of the Ratnins (cf. Sat. Br. 3.1, Tait. Br. 1.7.3, etc.,) with whom the king plays a symbolical game of dice with a cow as the bet (Sat. Br. v. 4.2.8), they were the king-makers existing quasi-independently of the king. Oligarchy supersedes this aristocracy-a series of rulers arise who represent the interest of this third state—a rôle fulfilled in the Graeco-Roman world by the tyrants, in the west by men of the mould of Richelieu, Cromwell, and Wallenstein: in epic India the Paura and Jānapada led by men like Viśvāmitra and Vasistha, who lay down -" we desire" (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyāk, Ch. II, pp. 20-22) ichchhāmah. A climax in the political development is 1 Res J. 17

reached in the perfection of ordered form in the state—in the administration of the democracy in fifth century Athens, in the absolutism of Louis Quatorze in Europe: in the efficient Sampha and Gana administration in 6th. century India (cf. its adoption in religious matters, Vinaya S.B.E. XX, 408). This climax is the fulfilment. A gradual slackening sets in. Disorder as in fourth century Greece and in the period that culminated in the French Revolution, prepares the way for an Alexander, and a Napoleon: in India it produced a Chandragupta, an Asoka, a Pusyamitra. Greece renounced the true form of the city state: India established her empires. Both ages were periods of great activity in literature and scientific thought. Hero, Euclid and Ptolemy and the literature of Alexandria had their counterpart in Kautilya, Manu and a host of others. Follows a fresh cycle with an attenuated kingship of the Andhras and Anchrabbrtyas, unfolding the same story to its end which with inner necessity is reached again and again.

In studying the development of Hindu Polity, one should not lose sight of three factors: (a) the Weltgeschicte, the background of the varying conditions and epochs of India as a whole; (b) the zeitgeist, where each epoch has its political institution as a discrete entity subject to the stages of youth, prime and decay and circumscribed by a fixed limit of time and space: (c) a new Lebensfühlung which starts a fresh political idea on its predestined phases as soon as the preceding political life is metaphysically exhausted. One should not confuse these different epochs each with its separate periods of youth, prime and senility and existing in different parts of India, as stages in the fictitious line of single progress. A misunderstanding of this three-fold gulf of time, territory and spirit, has led some (mostly Europeans) to dispute the existence of republics in India, because monarchy was still flourishing either in the same place at a different point of time or in the same time elsewhere in India, literary evidence mostly post-edited being their sole guide; it has led others (mostly Indians) to adopt an apologetic tone when describing Indian monarchy (compare our author's

"explaining away the right of gift by the King," etc. page 105). The aforesaid inevitability of fulfilment makes such apology superfluous. Then again, in the absence of Niceforo's covariation, or simultaneous and sympathetic changes in various factors of political evolution, even an intellectual sympathy for either monarchy or republic becomes partly meaningless. A political institution is never an exclusive mass of benefits, it is a mass of values positive and negative: it may even be said that most often the conquest of a benefit in one domain of a polity brings into another domain of that polity inevitable evils. In describing political theories it is better to follow Montesquieu and leave the question of the value of those theories open.

This question of political values has coloured much of the uninformed and uninforming criticism against the pioneer work of Jayaswal. While a real jurist like Kohler welcomed these Hindu contributions to the development of political institutions in India in a spirit of appreciation in his Archiv Fur Rechts und Wirtschafts-philosophie, mere Sanskritists like Barnett and Keith were looking up their lexicons. When Thomas in the J. R. A.S., 1925, pp. 520-21 followed up the undoubted political significance of Paura and Janapada discussed in Hindu Polity, Pt. II, pp. 60-78 and missed by the book under notice (Development of Hindu Polity, etc., p. 63), Barnett (J. R. A. S., 1926, pp. 774-76) took exception to the idea of a limited monarchy and questioned the interpretation of the coronation oath in the M. Bh., Santi P., lix. 106-7. Barnett's objection is intelligible and excusable: it is due to a genuine difficulty for foreigners to correctly construe certain Sanskrit expressions, however simple and commonplace these might appear to the Hindu mind. Keith proceeds on a different line. In The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, Third series-Vol. VII, Pt. IV, pp. 274-6, he objects to the interpretation of Vairājya (Ait. Br. i. 92), Vedic kingship as a human institution (Sat. Br. v. 4. 4. 7.), Paura and Janapada as political institutions, the antiquity of the Jatakas, and finally the contemporaneity of the Arthasāstra and the Mauryas. And he substantiates these

statements by ex cathedra expressions and dogmatic assertions— The Arthasāstra is not a contemporary treatise describing the constitution of the India of the Mauryas (Ibid., p. 276.) Of discussion, not a trace. Some of these topics come within the purview of the Development of Hindu Polity, etc. (1927), cf. pp. 60, 265, 327. The reader would expect further elucidation. His expectations are yet to be fulfilled. The author affirms controversial issues dogmatically and without discussion, cf. Note, p. 327; that is hardly an improvement.

The author's manner of exposition is on the whole readable. But some cheap expressions of second-hand wisdom, e.g., "the dawn of true history in India with the advent of Alexander the Great", p. 12-9, "In regard to political theories—if we are permitted to use that word with reference to Indian speculations" p. vii,—disfigure an otherwise sane account, and should be eschewed in all serious studies. The various data and references are generally reliable and useful.

A. B-Ś.



II.—"THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGAL"; A TRANSLATION OF DE LAET'S "DESCRIPTION OF INDIA AND FRAGMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY,"—By J. S. Hoyland, Critical Notes and Introduction by S. N. Bannerjee; price, Rs. 5-8-0; D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal, Bombay, 1928; pp. i-iv, 1-252.

This handy little book recently issued by Messrs. Taraporevala Sons and Co., supplies a long-felt want. The editors have been helped by capable scholars like Professors Jadu Nath Sarkar of Calcutta and S. H. Hodiwala of Junagadh and they have discharged their duties on the whole in a satisfactory manner. De Laet's method of writing Indian and the specially Musalman names is very curious and the difficulty of rendering them into their original forms is by no means light. This can be illustrated by a few examples. Chandbibi is written as Tziand Biebie, Khan-i-Khanan is written as Chan Channa, Raja Basu as Radzia Patso, Mahārāṇa Karan Singh as Kharen, etc.

In spite of the general excellence of the book a certain number of defects have crept in, which I think the editors could have remedied if they had consulted someone well versed in Indian topography. I shall cite a few examples only:—

I. "At a distance of one cos from this town flows the river Cepra, on whose bank is situated Calleada (Kaliyadaha), once the capital of the kings of Mando."—page 9. It is difficult to recognise Cepra as the modern Sipra. The learned translator or his commentator should have noted that Kaliyadaha is the name of a pool in the river Sipra in which there is an island on which Maḥmūd I Khaljī of Mālwā built a pleasure resort. This palace lay in ruins and was repaired in recent times by the late Māhārājā Mādhav Rao Šinde of Gwalior. It was never a city or even a suburb of Ujain.

2. "Not far from this town (Ahmedabad) begin the mountains of Maroa (Mewar) "-p. 21. I do not see how the

mountains of Mewar can be said to begin from the outskirts of Ahmedabad. These mountains are several hundred miles distant from the city of Ahmedabad. In fact the mountains near Sachore in the Luni district of Southern Jodhpur are nearer than those of Dungarpur or Banswara. In my opinion Maroa should never have been corrected into Mewar.

- 3. "Note on Sarkhej—p. 22. "Note 35—Sarkhaej became famous on account of the burial at that place of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganjbakhsh." The learned commentator should have known that the early Musalman architecture of Gujarat is a direct descendant of the Gujarat Chālukyan and Sarkhej buildings are no exceptions to this general rule. Besides the tomb of the saint and of the king and his queen there is a large Masjid in the Gujarat style built of pillars and lintels, a large tank on the right bank of which are the pleasure pavilions also in Gujarat style, which for a long time was the pleasure resort of the Mughal Viceroys of Gujarat.
- 4. If the editors had consulted some Gujarati scholar about proper names then they could have added many illuminating notes for the guidance of the unwary. Brodera is really the correct form. The Gujarati speaks of Badodarā instead of Baroda. The Baroda gate is called the Badodarī gate locally (p. 24). Very few people will be able to recognise Nadiad in "Nirisud"—p. 26, a flourishing place and an important railway junction on the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway.
- 5. The mistake about the identification of place names in Khandesh is more serious. "From Linul to Sindkerry is ten cos"—p. 29. Very few people will be able to recognise the modern town of Sindkheda, a taluka headquarters in the West Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency in the Sindkerry.
- 6. The crowning mistake of the editors is their confusion of Chattagram or Chatgaon with Saptagram or Satgaon. The heading of the section is "The route from Agra to Chatigan, the port of Bengal"—p. 77. The text of the section proves that De Laet means Saptagram near modern Hooghly. "Tanda is one leuca distant from the bank of the Ganges, for the river

here often overflows its banks and floods the neighbouring fields, finally one reaches Chatigan a fine town 23° north of the equator and one leuca distant from Ugeli (or Porto Piqueno as it is called by the Portuguese). Not far distant from this port is another called Angeli in the province of Orixa, whose capital (also called Orixa) is six days' journey distant from Chatigan ''-p. 78. So Chatigan is to be regarded as being about 5 miles distant from Ugeli where the learned editors failed to distinguish modern Hooghly and the port Porto Pequeno, the Portuguese name of Saptagrama, also failed to help them. Chātgāon is always known in Portuguese as Porto Grande in contradistinction with Saptagrama, called Porto Pequeno. Later on De Laet mentions that not far distant from Chatigan is another port called Angeli which Prof. Bannerji correctly identified with Hijli, yet he had not the courage of conviction to state that De Lact is describing Saptagrama and not Chattagrams. This is pardonable in a Hoyland but not in a Bannerji,

7. I shall cite only another instance of gross carelessness. In this case also the places are well known to people who have travelled in Western and Southern India. "The coast-district which extends from Angediva to Cifardam (a distance of 60 leagues) was given to Adelhan (called by Europeans Idalcam). The district from Cifardam to Negatona (a distance of 20 leagues) was given to Nizamalue." There is no note on Cifardam or Negatona. Cifardam is certainly Śrīvardhan near the Bankot creek, famous in Marātha history as the original habitation of Bālājī Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, the first Peshwa of the Bhaṭṭa family¹. Negatona is evidently Nāgoṭhnā, a place on the Revḍaṇḍā or the creek of Chaul near Bombay. If the learned editors had consulted Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar of Calcutta or Professor S. H. Hodiwala of Junagadh they would have identified these places immediately.

R. D. BANERJI.

G. S. Sardesal-Marathi Riyasat; Madhya-Bibhag, Part I, 2nd Edition p. 27.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 5th August 1928.

PRESENT.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

" J. S. Armour.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

- 1. In the absence of the Vice-President, Mr. D. N. Sen occupied the chair.
- 2. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 13th April 1928.
- 3. Elected the following new members :—
 Life Member—

Mr. Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL. B., Ajitasram, Lucknow. Ordinary Members-

Mr. Nageswar Prasad, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Patna.

- ,, Paul Roland Carr, 3923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N. Y., U. S. A.
- ,, V. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu Garu, M.A., L.T., Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
- " P. Acharya, B. sc., State Archæological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
- " M. Yusuf, B.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
- " Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
- 4. Read a letter, dated the 23rd July 1928, from the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, tendering his resignation of the office of Vice-President.

Resolved that his resignation be accepted and that the Council place on record their high appreciation of the loyal and ungrudging service rendered to the Society by the retiring Vice-President during his two terms of office.

Resolved further that, with the concurrence of His Excellency the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell, Chief Justice, be elected Vice-President of the Society.

5. Read a letter, dated the 9th July 1928, from Professor R. D. Banerji, with reference to the payment of his travelling expenses (vide item 4 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 11th March 1928).

Resolved that Professor R. D. Banerji's travelling expenses, as sanctioned by the Council, having already been paid, no further action is called for.

6. Read a letter, dated the 10th May 1928, from the Chief Librarian, Royal University Library, Upsala, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved that current issues of the Society's Journal be exchanged for current issues of "Le Monde Oriental"; and that the Chief Librarian be informed that a complete set of the Society's Journal (13 volumes) can be supplied, if desired, in exchange for a complete set of the Upsala Journal.

7. Read a letter, dated the 15th March 1923, from the Librarian, India Office Library, addressed to the Director of Public Instruction, a copy of which was forwarded by the latter with his letter no. 7342, dated the 15th May 1928.

Resolved that the Librarian be informed that if he desires that the India Office Library should be supplied with a copy of current issues of the Society's Journal, free of cost, he should address the Secretary on the subject, who will place the matter before the Council.

8. Read a letter, dated the 29th May 1928, from Dr. Harichand Sastri, addressed to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, proposing that the Society should undertake a certain publication.

Resolved that the proposal cannot be accepted.

9. Read a post-card, dated the 14th July 1928, from Mr. N. K. Prasad, with reference to the death in 1926 of 18

Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzandi Ahmad, formerly a member of the Society.

Resolved that the dues, accruing for the supply of the Journal since the death of the deceased, be written off.

10. Considered the question of accepting advertisements for publication in the Society's Journal.

Resolved that the Council adhere to their former decision to accept no advertisements for publication.

11. Read a post-card, dated the 2nd May 1928, from Dr. R. S. Behari Lal, a member of the Society, with reference to the payment of his subscription.

Resolved that the concession for which he asks cannot be granted.

- 12. Considered the payment of an honorarium to Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri for his work in compiling the index to Buchanan's Purnea Report (vide item 5 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 8th March 1926).
- Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri having intimated his unwillingness to accept any honorarium, the matter was dropped.
- 13. Considered designs of furniture for the Society's Library and Council Room in the new Museum building, submitted by the Executive Engineer, Patna Division, with his letter No. 8489, dated the 7th July 1928.

Resolved that a copy of the estimate for bookeases for the Society's Library furnished by Messrs. Mansfield and Sons, Calcutta, and approved by the Council (vide item 9 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 11th March 1928), be forwarded to the Executive Engineer; and that he be informed that the Council have already considered and rejected the proposal to have sectional bookeases with doors on hinges. As regards the furniture of superior design required for the Library and Council Room, he should be asked to obtain suitable designs, either from Messrs. Mansfield or from some other firm specialising in such work and to submit them for the approval of the Council.

E. A. HORNE, Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 30th September 1928:

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell, Vice-President (in the chair).

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

,, E. A. Horne.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 5th August 1928.
 - 2. Elected the following new members:-

Life Member-

Mr. Mahendra Prasad Sinha, Sub-Deputy Collector, Orissa Settlement, Cuttack.

Ordinary Members-

Mr. Gopi Kant Chaudhry, Ballipur Estate, Ballipur, Darbhanga.

Mr. Phanindranath Bose, M.A., Lecturer in History, Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.

3. Considered the Revised Estimate of the Society's income and expenditure for 1928-29 and the Budget Estimate for 1929-30.

Resolved that these be adopted as amended.

Resolved further (with the concurrence of the Vice-President) that the sum of Rs. 5,000 be replaced on fixed deposit for a year.

4. Read a letter, dated the 24th August 1928, from the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS., British Museum.

Resolved that the Superintendent, Government Printing, be requested to send to the British Museum, for copyright purposes, a copy of each issue of the Society's Journal, as published.

5. Considered the desirability of an exchange of publications with "The Vaitarani", an Utkal Research Journal, and "The Harmonist".

Resolved that such an exchange is not desirable.

6. Read a letter, dated the 7th August 1928, from Mr. L. K. Sahu, member of the Servants' of India Society, Cuttack.

Resolved that Mr. L. K. Sahu be informed that the Society distributes no free copies of the Journal.

7. Read a demi-official letter, dated the 25th August 1928, from Mr. R. E. Russell, Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, with regard to the arrangement proposed for carrying out further excavation at Buxar.

Resolved that Mr. Russell be informed that, in the opinion of the Council, Dr. Banarji-Sastri should be entitled (i) to make suggestions as regards the site and plan of the excavation, (ii) to be shown and to examine the finds, and (iii) to submit his own observation for incorporation under his name in the report or reports.

It is understood that the work will be carried out by the Curator of the Patna Museum under the supervision and control of the Superintendent of Archæology, Central Circle.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

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